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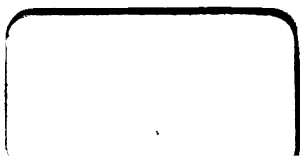
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THE
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OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

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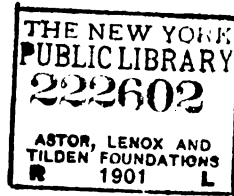


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(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

VOLUME XVI

OCTOBER, 1899

NUMBER 1

סלה.

BY EMILIE GRACE BRIGGS,
New York, N. Y.

There have been many attempts in recent years to discover the clue to the meaning and use of סלה. The presence of this word in the Old Testament, and the fact that a knowledge of its meaning would cast light upon more than one of the critical problems of the Psalter, give to every such attempt a peculiar interest and value. A fresh study is here undertaken of the facts concerning סלה, the ancient traditions as to its meaning, and the modern conjectures as to its use.

I. THE FACTS CONCERNING SELAH.

Selah is used 1) in the Old Testament, 2) in the Psalms of Solomon, 3) in the Jewish Liturgy.

1. *The Old Testament*.—Selah is found 74 times in the Old Testament; namely, 71 times in the Psalter and thrice in the Prayer of Habakkuk.

The Septuagint varies from the Massoretic text in its use of this word. סלה is there represented by *διάψαλμα*, excepting in Ps. 9:17, where *סֶלָה וְהַגִּידוֹן* = *ῥδῆ διαψάλλματος*. But *διάψαλμα* appears in verses and even in psalms where סלה is lacking. Again it is omitted in verses where the Hebrew text leads one to expect it. However, as *διάψαλμα* is never entirely wanting in a psalm which in the Hebrew contains סלה, the list of Selah psalms is longer for the LXX than for the Massoretic text. In

the Greek Psalter Selah appears 75 times in 43 psalms. In Habakkuk there is no variation to be noticed.

Dr. B. Jacob (*ZATW.*, 1896, pp. 131-6) examines the versions for their use of Selah. He claims that the various manuscripts collected in *Holmes-Parsons*, Tom. III, yield a number of new examples, namely, Pss. 2:4, 5; 6:4; 7:9, 13; 21:6; 30:4; 31:22; 37:4; 68:4a, 14, 15, 32; 70:3, 5; 84:8; 88:13; 107:30; 119:19 (*διαναιρός* ?). Some of these he regards as cases of dittography; i. e., Pss. 2:5; 68:15, 32; 84:8. Others he retains as representing an original Selah, which has fallen out of the Hebrew text. He gives also from the *Psalterium Vetus* the following additional Selahs: Pss. 2:6; 19:5a (*semper* ?); 68:4, 14, 17, 26; 115:3. Of these 2:6; 19:5, and 115:3 are marked as doubtful cases. 2:6 may be a case of dittography; 19:5 may not stand for Selah; 115:3 is questionable, if only because Ps. 115 is one of the Hallel, and Selah is conspicuously absent from the Hallel and from the fourth book of the Psalter. Thus Dr. Jacob adds some twenty Selahs to those preserved in the Massoretic text, concluding: "dass für diese δ. kein anderer Grund erfindlich ist, als wirkliche Ueberlieferung aus reicherem H [= *Mass.*] durch einen treueren Archetypus als selbst B [= *Vaticanus*] ist" (*loc. cit.*, p. 135).

The use of Selah in the Psalter is shown by the following table. The list of examples from the LXX is complete according to the concordance of Hatch and Redpath, which has been followed without reference to variations in the MSS. Examples of omission, transposition, and addition on the part of the LXX may be easily found by a comparison of the Massoretic with the LXX column. In the columns headed H.-P. and Ps. Vet., only those citations are presented which add to the list of Selahs in the Hebrew text. A question mark has been placed after all examples discredited by Dr. Jacob. In citing from the LXX it has been necessary to follow the Hebrew numbering for the psalms in order to a comparison between the texts.

A glance at the table is sufficient to show that the Selah psalms are widely separated as to date of composition. As they belong to different periods in the history of the formation of the Psalter, they do not by their date help us to discover the period to which Selah belongs. But a study of the titles of the Selah psalms has proved fruitful. Professor Briggs in a recent article has made an "inductive study of Selah in connection with the

USE OF SELAH IN THE PSALTER

ACCORDING TO THE MASS. AND LXX, WITH ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES FROM
HEXAPLA AND PSALTERIUM VETUS.

TABLE OF COMPARISON.

	MASS.	LXX.	H.-P.	Ps. VET.
Psalm 2.....	.....	2	4, 5(?)	6(?)
" 3.....	3, 5, 9	3, 5	.....	.....
" 4.....	3, 5	3, 5	.....	.....
" 6.....	.....	.....	4	.....
" 7.....	6	6	9a, 13a	.....
" 9.....	17, 21	17, 21	.....	.....
" 19.....	.....	.....	.....	5a(?)
" 20.....	4	4	.....	.....
" 21.....	3	3	6	.....
" 24.....	6, 10	6	.....	.....
" 30.....	.....	.....	4	.....
" 31.....	.....	.....	22	.....
" 32.....	4, 5, 7	4, 5, 7	.....	.....
" 34.....	.....	11	.....	.....
" 37.....	.....	.....	4	.....
" 39.....	6, 12	6, 12	.....	.....
" 44.....	9	9	.....	.....
" 46.....	4, 8, 12	4, 8	.....	.....
" 47.....	5	5	.....	.....
" 48.....	9	9	.....	.....
" 49.....	14, 16	14, 16	.....	.....
" 50.....	6	6, 15	.....	.....
" 52.....	5, 7	5, 7	.....	.....
" 54.....	5	5	.....	.....
" 55.....	8, 20	8, 20	.....	.....
" 57.....	4, 7	3, 4, 7	.....	.....
" 59.....	6, 14	6, 14	.....	.....
" 60.....	6	6	.....	.....
" 61.....	5b	5a	.....	.....
" 62.....	5, 9	5, 9	.....	.....
" 66.....	4, 7, 15	4, 7, 15	.....	.....
" 67.....	2, 5	2, 5	.....	.....
" 68.....	8, 20, 33	4a, 8, 14, 20, 33	15(?), 32(?)	17, 26
" 70.....	.....	.....	3, 5	.....
" 75.....	4	4	.....	.....
" 76.....	4, 10	4, 10	.....	.....
" 77.....	4, 10, 16	4, 10, 16	.....	.....
" 80.....	.....	8	.....	.....
" 81.....	8	8	.....	.....
" 82.....	2	2	.....	.....
" 83.....	9	9	.....	.....
" 84.....	5, 9	5, 9	8(?)	.....
" 85.....	3	3	.....	.....
" 87.....	3, 6	3, 6	.....	.....
" 88.....	8, 11	8	13	.....
" 89.....	5, 38, 46, 49	5, 38, 46, 49	.....	.....
" 94.....	.....	15(?)	.....	.....
" 107.....	.....	.....	30(?)	.....
" 115.....	.....	.....	.....	3(?)
" 119.....	.....	.....	19(?)	.....
" 140.....	4, 6, 9	4, 6, 9	.....	.....
" 143.....	6	6	.....	.....

titles of the Psalms," which leads to the conclusion "that there is a close connection between לְלוּ and the Psalters of Asaph and the Korahites, but not with the Psalter of David, which precedes them, or the Psalters of the Elohists and the Director, which follow them." For this and other reasons the use of Selah is placed "subsequent to the collection of the Davidic Psalter and previous to the editing of the Director's Psalter, in the times of the chronicler, in the late Persian period or beginning of the Greek period."¹

Professor Briggs distinguishes between an early and a late use of Selah in the Psalter, attributing to the latter the additional examples furnished by the versions, the LXX included. Among these Selahs the only examples regarded by him as ancient are those in Pss. 50, 68, and 80; Pss. 50 and 68 belonging to a group of Selah psalms in the Hebrew Psalter, and Ps. 80 showing certain of the characteristics of a Selah psalm.

Selah appears elsewhere in the Old Testament only in Hab. 3:3, 9, 13. The LXX here agrees with the Massoretic text; but in the Hexapla (86b) a fourth *διάψαλμα* stands at the close of vs. 14, while *εἰς τέλος* takes the place of *διάψαλμα* in vs. 13.

Dr. Graetz, in the introduction to his commentary on the Psalms, compares Hab., chap. 3, with Jon. 2:3-10 and 1 Sam. 1:1-10, and suggests that these are remnants of lost psalms. The liturgical character of this chapter is generally recognized by scholars, and the tendency is to attribute to it a date much later than the time of the prophet whose name it bears. The subscription לְמִנְצַח shows that it was included in the Director's Psalter.

2. *The Psalms of Solomon.*—Selah, as represented by *διάψαλμα*, occurs in two of the Psalms of Solomon; namely, in Pss. 17:31; 18:10. In the introduction to the edition of Ryle and James (Cambridge, 1891) it is maintained that "Pompey's capture of Jerusalem is the historical event to which Pss. 1, 2, 8, 17 refer;" that "judging from the detailed character of the allusions, the historical psalms must have been composed not very long after the events which they describe;" that "there is nothing in the style or contents of the other psalms to separate them in respect of date of composition from those which are definitely historical in coloring;" and finally that "in assigning the years B. C. 70 and B. C. 40 as the extreme limits of date within which our psalms were

¹ *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVIII, Part I.

written, we keep securely within the bounds of probability.' (For the whole argument see pp. xxxvii-xliv.)

It is also stated, as the result of the inquiries made concerning the origin of the book, that it is a product of "pharisaic Judaism of Jerusalem in the middle of the last century B. C." (p. lix). It is argued, for this and other reasons, that these psalms are Greek translations of a Hebrew original. The arguments are strong, especially the one based upon the language (cf. pp. lxxvii-lxxxvii). They leave little room for doubt as to the accuracy of the statement. The view is shared with the majority of modern scholars, such as Geiger, Wellhausen, Schürer.

A comparison of these psalms with the Jewish literature of the period, more especially with Baruch, leads to the conclusion "that the Psalms of Solomon had been turned into Greek some considerable time before A. D. 70," and that they are probably "anterior in date to the whole New Testament literature" (*loc. cit.*, p. lxxvii).

3. *The Jewish Liturgy*.—There is nothing surprising in the appearance of Selah in the Jewish Prayer Book, so long as it is confined to quotations from the Hebrew Psalter. The Selah psalms, which are quoted entire, are the following: 3, 4, 20, 24, 32, 46, 48, 67, 68, 81-84. In every case the use of סלה corresponds exactly with that of the Massoretic text, as indeed we should expect. But סלה occurs also frequently (and I think uniformly) in brief quotations of one or more verses, where it occurs in the psalm from which the quotation is made. This is true even when the verse quoted stands in the midst of a composite prayer, such as that appointed for the Habdalah service, which reads as follows:

Behold God is my salvation; I will trust and will not be afraid: for Jah the Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation. Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation. Salvation belongeth unto the Lord; thy blessing be upon thy people. (*Selah*.) The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge. (*Selah*.) The Jews had light and joy and gladness and honor. So be it with us, etc.

It is evident that, whether or not the compilers of the Jewish Liturgy understood (or thought that they understood) the meaning of סלה, they regarded it as a component of the sacred text, and therefore never to be omitted.

But in addition to these examples there are some eight or nine other instances of the use of סְלָה, which are not so easily explained.

It occurs in the שְׁמוֹנֵה עֲשָׂרָה (Benedictions 3 and 18). Of this ancient Jewish prayer Dr. Zunz (in *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1892) writes as follows:

Derselben Autorität [den Männern der grossen Synagoge] gehört angeblich die Abfassung und Einführung der schon in der Mischna beschriebenen Gebete *Schemah* und *Thefilla*. (רַפְּלָה "das Gebet," auch unter dem Namen שְׁמוֹנֵה עֲשָׂרָה "achtzehn" bekannt.) Was zunächst die letztere betrifft, so hat sie Wendungen, die der Zeit des grossen Vereins unmöglich zugehören können, und bei etwas genauerer Betrachtung sollte man dieselbe als die Arbeit 5 bis 6 verschiedener Epochen anerkennen. Als der älteste Bestandtheil erscheint mir das, die 3 ersten und die 3 letzten Segensprüche umfassende, Stück. Seiner gedenkt die Mischna mit eigenen, die einzelnen Sprüche bezeichnenden, Benennungen, und einige Ausdrücke (מִקְרָם, סְלָה) darin erinnern an das Buch Esther und die ältesten Glossatoren der Psalmen Nichts verräth eine tiefere Jugend, vielmehr konnte die Ankunft des Erlösers auch während der Zeit des zweiten Tempels, zumal unter der Herrschaft der Syrer, erliehet werden. . . . Die Sprache passt für die Zeit des Hohenpriesters Simeon. Endlich ist die uralte Einrichtung, wonach jenes Stück allen Tagen des Jahres bestimmt ist, während die übrigen Theile der Thefilla von den Sabbat- und Festtagen ausgeschlossen bleiben, ein ziemlich deutliches Merkmal höheren Alters. (*Loc. cit.*, pp. 379, 380.)

Compare with this Dr. Schürer's testimony as to the age of this portion of the Jewish Liturgy:

Aus dem Inhalt dieses Gebetes erhellt, dass es seine endgültige Form erst nach der Zerstörung Jerusalems, also nach dem J. 70 n. Chr., erhalten hat. Denn es setzt in seiner 14. und 17. Beracha die Zerstörung der Stadt und das Aufhören des Opferdienstes voraus. Andererseits wird es schon in der Mischna unter dem Namen שְׁמוֹנֵה עֲשָׂרָה citirt (Berachoth IV:3; Taanith II:2), und es wird erwähnt, dass bereits R. Gamaliel II, R. Josua, R. Akiba und R. Elieser, also lauter Autoritäten aus dem Anfang des zweiten Jahrhunderts, darüber verhandelten, ob man die sämtlichen 18 Danksagungen oder nur einen Auszug daraus täglich zu beten habe (Berachoth IV:3), sowie darüber, in welcher Weise die Zusätze während der Regenzeit und am Sabbath einzuschalten und in welcher Form es am Neujahrstage zu beten sei. (Berachoth V:2; Rosch haschana IV:5; Taanith I:1, 2.) Demnach muss es seine jetzige Gestalt im Wesentlichen um d. J. 70–100 n. Chr. erhalten haben, und es ist mit Sicherheit anzunehmen, dass die Grundlage des Gebetes noch erheblich älter ist. Bestätigt wird dieser Resultat durch die bestimmte

talmudische Nachricht, dass Simon der Baumwollhändler zu Jabne zur Zeit R. Gamaliel's II die 18 Danksagungen nach ihrer Reihenfolge geordnet habe, und dass Samuel der Kleine auf R. Gamaliel's Aufforderung noch das Gebet gegen die Abtrünnigen (בִּינִיִּים) eingeschaltet habe, weshalb es eben nicht 18, sondern 19 Abschnitte seien. (Berachoth 28b.) (Schürer's *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, Vol. II, p. 386.)

Two Selahs appear in the prayers preceding the *Shema* in the morning service. The first stands in the prayer beginning אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ יְהוָה; the second in the one beginning אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה רַבָּה אֲהַבָּהוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ. The first of these prayers in its earliest form dates back probably to Mishna times at least, as it is mentioned in the Mishna, although not quoted there. Selah in all likelihood belongs to the oldest portion of this prayer (so Seligman-Baer in historical notes on the Jewish Liturgy). Both prayers are quoted by title in the *Shulchan-Arukh* (II. Lieferung, pp. 267, 221), the reference to the Talmud being *Tractat Berachot*, 11b. They belong without doubt to the oldest portion of the Liturgy. It is quite possible that they date back to the beginning of our era, or even earlier, although this cannot be affirmed.

There is a version of the second of these prayers in which occurs an interpolation of some length. It bears traces of a date considerably later than that of the passage in which it stands, and is entirely omitted from the authorized version of the prayer. It is too long to quote in full, but at its close stands the following: כִּי אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲבִינוּ. וְרַחֲמֶיךָ וְחַסְדֶּיךָ הָרַבִּים אֵל יִצְחוּנוּ נְצַח סֵלָה וְעַד:

In the Talmud (Treatise *Erubhin*, folio 54a) there is a statement, attributed to the school of Eliezer ben Jacob, who belonged to the fourth generation of the Tanaim (138–64)—a statement therefore dating from the second century A. D.—to the effect that in every place in the Scriptures where the words נְצַח, סֵלָה, or עַד occur, they have the meaning of endless continuity—*forever and ever*.

The juxtaposition of these words in the passage under consideration is suspicious. It can be explained as authentic only on the supposition that the Jewish tradition is correct in ascribing to סֵלָה the meaning *forever*—a meaning which, as will presently appear, there is good reason to question. In the meantime this must be counted out as a suspected passage.

² See *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*, 2d edition. London, 1891.

At the close of the prayer assigned to the sabbath preceding the new moon Selah appears, following the *amen*.³ This prayer is quoted in the Talmud,⁴ where, however, Selah is lacking. This fact, together with its present position after the *amen*, leads one to regard it with suspicion.

A still more doubtful use of this term may be found in a prayer omitted from the *Authorised Prayer Book*, but appearing in the prayer-book entitled *The Praises of Israel* (p. 99). A glance at it is sufficient to disclose its untrustworthiness. The prayer is plainly cabalistic, and of late origin. Here again Selah appears after the *amen*.

The Talmud⁵ refers to a blessing, appointed to be said by persons released from prison, recovering from serious illness, etc. The blessing itself is not quoted; but in the Liturgy there appears a blessing, which from its language may well be ancient, appointed for use on just such occasions as those enumerated in the Talmud. At its close stands a Selah. This blessing appears in the *Praises of Israel*, p. 163. We cannot affirm that this is the blessing referred to in the Talmud; still the conjecture is a reasonable one. If it be true, we have here an example of Selah in an ancient benediction which goes back at least to the Gaonim, and may go back much farther. This benediction is omitted from the *Authorised Prayer Book*—a noteworthy fact, although the prayer is not thereby discredited.

As the result of our inquiry, we have found in the Hebrew Liturgy, outside of the rejected portion of the morning benediction before the Shema and the late cabalistic prayer, the following uses of Selah:

a) Five examples dating in all probability from the first centuries of our era, possibly from the time of the second temple. These are the three Selahs in the שמורה עשרה and the two in the morning benedictions preceding the שמע.

b) Two examples which must be regarded as somewhat doubtful both as to age and authenticity; namely, in the benediction referred to as possibly that mentioned in the Talmud, and in the prayer for the sabbath preceding the new moon, which is quoted in the Talmud, but without Selah.

³ Cf. *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 154.

⁴ *Berachoth*, 16b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 54b.

II. THE TRADITIONS CONCERNING SELAH.

Two traditions as to the interpretation of Selah have been preserved to us in the various versions of the Psalter. The one is that of Talmud, Targum, Aquila, Quinta, and Sexta, and has been followed by Jerome. The other is that of LXX, Symmachus, Theodotion, Psalter. Vetus, and, in part, of Peshitto and Hexapla.

1. The Targum follows the Massoretic text exactly in its use of סלה, giving in place of it לעלמי, לעלמי, or a synonym.⁶ Aquila, representing the prevailing opinion in Jewish circles at the time of the elder expounders of the law,⁷ translates סלה by ἀεί; Quinta and Sexta by διαπαντός, εἰς τέλος, and the like; Jerome by *semper, iugiter*. Professor Baethgen remarks: "Augenscheinlich war dies von Aq. bis auf Hier. die traditionelle Erklärung."⁸

Jewish tradition seems to give to the word the meaning of *forever*. A passage from the Talmud has already been referred to, which makes סלה synonymous with נצח, עד. It is in accordance with this tradition that Selah has been translated at times by *forever* in the *Authorised Jewish Prayer Book*; for instance, in the "Eighteen Benedictions," in the prayers before the שמע, and sometimes even in quotations from the Psalter—apparently in every passage which can bear the addition of the word *forever*.

Against this interpretation of Selah it may be urged:

- a) that it has no etymological support;
- b) that in many cases the meaning *forever* would yield no sense (for examples see Pss. 9:17; 66:15; 68:8; 77:4; 81:8; 83:9; 84:9; 87:6, etc.; Hab. 3:3, 13, etc.);
- c) that to connect Selah with the words which precede, in the case of the Psalms, would be to interfere with the poetic measure, and to destroy at times the parallelism of thought (see Pss. 3:3, 5; 46:4, 8; 77:4; 81:8; 88:8, 11, etc.);
- d) that it conflicts with the reading of the LXX. Now, the natural inference from the presence of additional Selahs in the LXX and Hexapla is that the meaning of the term was not unknown to the Greek translators. Moreover, there is a presumption in favor of the LXX as the older reading;
- e) that in the *Codex Sin.* Selah is written in red characters and stands in a line by itself.

⁶ See Jacob, *loc. cit.*, p. 132.

⁷ According to Graetz, *loc. cit.*, p. 93.

⁸ *Handkommentar z. Alt. Test.*, II, 2; 2^o Aufl., p. xii; also Siegfried in *ZATW.*, IV, p. 58.

2. The other traditional interpretation of לָּחַח is that of the LXX (followed by Symmachus, Theodotion, etc.), which renders the word uniformly *διάψαλμα*, in Ps. 9:17 (וְדָהּ) *διαψάλματος*. The trustworthiness of this tradition has been doubted, chiefly on the ground that *διάψαλμα* is a word of doubtful meaning, which itself requires explanation.

Baethgen⁹ quotes a passage from de Lagarde,¹⁰ attributed to Hippolytus, which reads: *ῥυθμοῦ τινὸς ἢ μέλους μεταβολὴν γεγονέναι κατὰ τοὺς τόπους ἢ καὶ τρόπον διδασκαλίας εἰς ἕτερον τρόπον ἢ διανοίας ἢ δυνάμεως λόγου ἐνἀλλαγμα*.

The explanation given by Origen, XII, 1071, is as follows: *κατὰ δὲ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀντίγραφα καὶ κατὰ Σύμμαχον ἔοικε μουσικοῦ τινος μέλους ἢ ῥυθμοῦ τροπῆς γενομένης ἢ τοῦ διαψάλματος παρακεῖσθαι παρασημείωσις· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ διανοίας ἐνἀλλαγή γίνεται ἐν τοῖς διαψάλμασιν ἥδη δὲ καὶ προσώπου μεταβολή*.

Augustine's comment is:

Interpositum diapsalma vetat istam [locutionem] cum superiore coniungi, sive enim hebraeum verbum sit (sicut quidam volunt) quo significatur Fiat, sive graecum, quo significatur intervallum psallendi, ut psalma sit quod psallitur, diapsalma vero interpositum in psallendo silentium, ut quemadmodum sympsalma dicitur vocum copulatio in cantando, ita diapsalma disiunctio earum, ubi quaedam requies disiunctae continuationis ostenditur—sive ergo illud, sive hoc, sive aliud aliquid sit, certe illud probabile est, non recte continuari et coniungi sensum, ubi diapsalma interponitur.¹¹

Dr. Jacob¹² gives his view of the testimony of the church fathers on the meaning of *διάψαλμα* as follows:

Die Kirchenväter hatten keine Tradition darüber, was לָּחַח bedeutet, noch warum es gerade mit *διάψαλμα* übersetzt wird. "D selbst wird bald vergessen. Was δ. im griechischen Psalter bedeutet, wissen sie ebenso wenig. Alle Erklärungen sind geraten, und die Weisheit eines Jahrtausends über dieses Wort lässt sich knapp genug zusammenfassen: *διάψαλμα* ist ein *δια* im *ψάλλειν*. Den Revers: es ist ein *ψάλλειν δια* (zwischen-durch) zeigen die neueren Erklärungen als "Zwischenspiel" u. ä.

In spite of this uncertainty as to the meaning of diapsalma, there is reason to think that the reading of the LXX approximates the true meaning of Selah. This conclusion is of importance,

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. xii, xiii.

¹⁰ *Novae Psalterii Graeci Editionis Specimen*, p. 10.

¹¹ de Lagarde, *Specimen*, p. 10.

¹² *ZdTW.*, 1896, p. 181.

even though the meaning of *διάψαλμα*, like that of *Selah*, should remain in doubt; for if *διάψαλμα* fairly represents הלל, then הלל is a liturgical note. The arguments in favor of this conclusion are the following:

1. The ancient Greek version known as the Septuagint was probably not completed before the close of the first century B. C. The Pentateuch, the Prophets, and some of the "Writings" were translated into Greek in all likelihood by the middle of the second century B. C. As the Psalter seems to have been the first of the *Kethib* to receive a place in the canon, it was probably one of the first to be translated. In any case there is no doubt that the Greek Psalter was in existence in the last century B. C.¹³ The period during which *Selah* was in use must extend to a time later than the date of the "Psalms of Solomon" and of the earlier portions of the Jewish Prayer Book. The Psalms of Solomon are assigned to the middle of the first century B. C., in the commentary of Ryle and James, and such of the Jewish prayers as preserve an unquestionable example of *Selah* stand in the oldest portions of the liturgy and date back, in all probability, to the first century A. D., if not earlier. *Selah* was, therefore, certainly in use at the time of the formation of the Greek Psalter. But if this be true, then it is hard to conceive that a term in actual use could have been quite unknown to the Greek translators, or that their rendering is not approximately correct.

2. An additional argument may be drawn from the fact that the LXX preserves *Selahs* that are lacking in the Massoretic text. Jacob, as we have seen, accepts them as authentic on the ground that there is no other way of accounting for them than to suppose that they come from the Hebrew text represented by the LXX. However, it is quite conceivable that there was an independent use of *Selah* among the Hellenistic Jews. This is the view taken by Professor Briggs in the article mentioned,¹⁴ and it is favored by the late examples preserved in the Psalms of Solomon and the Jewish Liturgy, as well as in the later versions of the Psalter.

But whatever opinion may be held as to the origin of the additional *Selahs* in the LXX, it is evident that the version which preserves the most *Selahs* is likely to have preserved with

¹³ See C. A. Briggs, *Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 188-90.

¹⁴ See note 1.

them a correct tradition as to their use; and therefore these additional Selahs afford presumptive evidence in support of the rendering of the LXX.

Dr. Muss-Arnolt gives it as his opinion that "the meaning of selah seems to have been well known to the Greek translators;" and he adds: "Professor Geo. F. Moore, of Andover, Mass., also believes that the Greek translators were acquainted with the significance of selah, and that their translation was not a blundering guess."¹⁵

III. THE THEORIES CONCERNING SELAH.

Modern conjectures as to the meaning and use of Selah are for the most part in the line of the Greek tradition. It will be convenient to classify them as follows: 1) Selah is an abbreviation; 2) Selah indicates strophical division; 3) Selah is a liturgical note.

1. *Selah an abbreviation.*—It has been suggested that Selah is an abbreviation, such as those preserved in the talmudic literature, in which each letter stands for some word of which it is the initial, and the word thus formed represents a complete phrase. Among the phrases which סֵלָה has been supposed to stand for are the following:

a) סִימֵן לְשִׁנוֹת הַקּוֹל = *signum mutandae voces*.

b) כֹּב לְמַעַל הַפֶּסֶד = *da capo*.

But these are only two of the many possible combinations. Who shall tell us which of them all is the true one? It may be said that if Selah is such an abbreviation, it is the only example in the Scriptures.

Bachmann¹⁶ suggests that the ה in סֵלָה is due to a scribal error, and that we should read for סֵלָה the imperative of סָלַח. This, according to his conjecture, represented the phrase לְעֵינֵינוּ סָלַח, which became a liturgical formula (such as *Kýrie eléησον*), and of which סֵלָה is all that remains to us. The theory is purely speculative, and a hasty glance through the Psalter is sufficient to convince one that Selah frequently stands where a petition for *forgiveness in behalf of enemies*¹⁷ would be entirely out of place (cf. Pss. 59:6, 14; 62:5; 140:4, 6, 9; 9:17; 7:6; 50:15, etc.).

¹⁵ *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, May, 1890, p. 76.

¹⁶ In his *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 41 sq.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 46.

TABLE OF SELAH PSALMS (COMPLETE).¹⁸

WITH למנצח.						
	מזמור	משכיל	מכתם	שיר	NONE	
Asaph.....	75† 76† 77 80			75† 76†	81 (LXX ψαλμός)	
David.....	4 20 62 6 21 68† 9 31 140 19 39	52 54 55	57 59 60	68†	61 70	
Korah.....	47 88† 49 (Heman) 84 85	44 88†		46 88†		
Orphan	66† 67† (LXX τῆ Δαυιδ)			66† 67†		
WITHOUT למנצח.						
	מזמור	משכיל	מכתם	שיר	NONE	שגירן
Asaph.....	50 82 83†			83†		
David.....	3 24 30† ¹⁹ 143	32		30†	34 37	7 ¹⁹
Korah.....	48† 87†			48† 87†		
Ethan.....		89				
Orphan.....					2 115 94 ²⁰ 119 107	

¹⁸ The mark † indicates that the psalm has more than one descriptive term in its title. The change in type distinguishes the Selah psalms of the Hebrew Psalter from those taken from the Versions.

¹⁹ LXX εἰς τὸ τέλος.

²⁰ LXX ψαλμός τῆ Δαυιδ.

2. *Selah a strophical division.*—Selah has been interpreted as marking strophical division, especially in doubtful places.²¹ In favor of this theory is the fact that Selah frequently stands at the close of a psalm strophe. Against it is the use of Selah in the Hebrew prayers and in Pss. 20:4; 55:8; 67:2; 68:8, 33; 85:3; Hab. 3:3, etc. Dalman²² suggests that סֵלָה = σελῆς = *spatium inter lineas*. He claims the support of the LXX for this conjecture.

3. *Selah a liturgical note.*—The majority of modern scholars regard Selah as a liturgical note. Under this head may be grouped the various speculations as to its meaning and use. These are: (a) that Selah is a musical note; (b) that it is a summons to prayer; (c) that it indicates a stop, or break—the end of a section.

The probability that διαψαλμα is a liturgical note, and the uncertainty as to its exact meaning, make it possible to quote the LXX reading in support of each of these several interpretations.

If Selah is a liturgical note, the psalms containing it may be expected to show other signs of liturgical use. A rapid look through the Selah psalms is enough to convince one of their fitness for public worship. Many of them were incorporated in the Jewish Liturgy. Many contain references to Zion, the temple, sacrificial worship, a worshipping assembly, and the like. Few are without marks of fitness for liturgical use. The titles of the most of these psalms assign them to one or other of the three early psalters, i. e., those of David, Asaph, and the Korahites. The exceptions are Pss. 2, 66, 67, 89, 94, 107, 115, 119. Of these psalms, 89 is ascribed to Ethan in the Massoretic text; 67 and 94 to David in the LXX; 66 is entitled שִׁיר מִזְמוֹר; 119 is not accepted by Dr. Jacob as a Selah psalm, while 107 and 115 are regarded by him with suspicion. This leaves Ps. 2 as the only example of an accredited Selah psalm with no liturgical mark in the title. In the Hebrew Psalter every Selah psalm bears such a mark.²³

a) *Selah a musical note.*—It has been maintained that סֵלָה is from a substantive סָל (סָלֵל), and that it refers to the music, having the meaning *loud, forte*.²⁴ However, such a term would

²¹ So Dr. Julius Ley, *Rhythmus d. Hebr. Poesie*, 1875, pp. 63 sq.

²² *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1893, No. 21.

²³ For an inductive study of these psalms see Professor Briggs' article in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVIII, Part I.

²⁴ So Ewald, *Dichter d. Alt. Bundes*, I, p. 232; Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, p. 83; cf. also Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch d. Hebr. Sprache*, I, 2, § 837: 66.

be quite inappropriate in Pss. 4:4; 32:4; 77:4, 10; 85:3; 88:8; 89:46, 49; 143:6, and similar passages, in so far as it has reference either to a musical accompaniment or to a musical interlude; moreover, it leaves the Selahs in the Jewish Prayer Book unaccounted for.

Again, the word has been interpreted as a sign for the instruments to strike up, or come into prominence, *i. e.*, for a *musical interlude*.²⁵ This is also the common interpretation of *διάψαλμα*, *Zwischenspiel*, and the LXX is supposed to afford strong support to this theory. The support, however, depends on the correctness of the interpretation for *διάψαλμα*, which is a matter of dispute. The passages which are the most difficult of explanation on this theory are Pss. 20:4; 21:3; 52:3, 5; 55:8; 67:2; 68:8, 33; 85:3, and others, wherein the train of thought would be broken by an interlude or a pause of any kind. This objection will hold good also against the derivation of Selah from סלה = שִׁלָּה *to be silent*, which makes it a sign for a pause in the singing. On this etymology Muss-Arnolt makes the following criticism: "שִׁלָּה does not mean 'to be silent,' but 'to be quiet.' . . . ס never interchanges with ש, except in doubtful words; Ps. 9:17 would now mean: music! pause!"²⁶

The most recent contribution to this class of theories is that of J. K. Zenner.²⁷ It is severely criticised by Beer.²⁸ Zenner's proposal is that סלה and *διάψαλμα* both mean "Zwiegesang"—*duo*; and that the use of the word in the Psalter shows that the psalms were sung by more than one choir, and also indicates where the choirs were to alternate.

P. Cassel²⁹ proposes the theory that the musical notes, which appear in the Psalter and have been found so difficult to explain, are for the most part translations or transliterations of technical Greek terms, not understood and therefore wrongly pointed by the Massorites. His interpretation of Selah is as follows:

Es bedeutet ψάλλε als Anweisung, dass das Spiel wieder einfällt. Dass ס statt ψ steht, kann nicht auffallen. Im Attischen vertritt ψ vielfach ein einfaches σ, wie ψιττακός und σιττακός; ס vertritt ebenso in

²⁵ See the lexicon of Siegfried and Stade; Riehm's *Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums*, Vol. II; Schultz, *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, A, 6^{te} Abt., p. 22.

²⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 76.

²⁷ *Chorgesänge im Buche der Psalmen*. Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1896.

²⁸ *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* for March 6, 1897 (Vol. XVIII, No. 9).

²⁹ *Kritisches Sendeschreiben über die Prohebibel*, 1885, pp. 92, 93.

hebräischen Worten sowohl ξ (סִי = ξίφος) als ψ. Auch im Mittelalter kommt neben Psalterion, Salterion vor, französisch saltier oder sautiers.³⁰

Baethgen, however, discredits this proposal on the ground of the retention of the *p* sound in פִּסְתִּיָּךְ = ψαλτήριον Dan. 3:5.³¹

The appearance of הַגִּי' before סֵלָה in Ps. 9:17 has been used as an argument in favor of the view that Selah refers to the musical accompaniment. There is no fixed tradition as to the meaning of הַגִּי'. The meanings assigned to it in the new edition of the Robinson-Gesenius Hebrew Lexicon³² are: (1) "resounding music," (2) "meditation, musing." It is clear that the sense of הַגִּי' in this particular passage will be determined by the meaning attributed to סֵלָה, and not *vice versa*. Dr. Muss-Arnolt, for example, in accordance with his theory concerning Selah, prefers the second meaning and interprets סֵלָה הַגִּי' as "addressed to the congregation: here is a call for meditation and prayer!" However, the rendering of the LXX φδῆ διαψάλματος certainly favors the view that Selah here had some connection with the musical rendering.

Some of the objections against this class of theories would be met if, instead of attempting to limit the application of Selah to instruments or voices, or to the manner of singing or playing, one were to regard Selah as simply indicating some change in the musical rendering.

The early Christian tradition, as we have seen, gives support to the view that Selah is a musical note. So also does the presence of musical terms in the titles and text of many of the Selah psalms. In his article on Selah³³ Professor Briggs shows the strength of this argument, reaching the conclusion that "there is a very close connection between the use of סֵלָה and the use of musical terms in the Director's Psalter," and that "this makes it probable that סֵלָה was a term used with reference to the musical rendering of the Psalms."

It is noteworthy in this connection that διάψαλμα in Hab. 3:3 is replaced by μεταβολή διαψάλματος in Cod. 86a, although the ordinary reading is given by Cod. 86b, Complutensis and Variants.³⁴

³⁰ *Kritisches Sendschreiben über die Probebibel*, 1885, p. 96.

³¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. xiii.

³² Edited by Drs. Brown, Driver, and Briggs.

³³ See footnote 1.

³⁴ Compare for the text Klostermann's *Analecta z. Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik*. Leipzig, 1895.

b) *Selah a call to prayer.*—In the *Johns Hopkins University Circular* for May, 1890, p. 76, Dr. Muss-Arnolt writes as follows: "I believe that the original meaning of *selah* is *prayer*. (1) As to the etymology, I consider it a Piel form; *selah* stands for *sallah* as *ehad* for *ahhad* (so also Haupt after Kimchi); it is derived from the stem סלה, occurring frequently in Assyrian; e. g., *usalli* 'I prayed,' *sullû* = *hassitum*, 'prayer,' V Rawl., 26, 52, *ab* (written *su(!)-ul-lu-u*); *sula* (written *su(!)la-a*), 'beseeching,' *Z. Assy.*, IV, 11; *siltûtu*, 'a prayer-mantle,' V Rawl., 14 and 28, etc. (2) The meaning 'prayer' is suitable in all cases, especially so in the later Jewish liturgy (pointed out to me by Dr. B. Szold and Dr. Jastrow, Sr.); it signified prayer—loud or silent—interwoven between the chanting of the psalms. This also gives a good meaning to *διάψαλμα* = (a prayer) between the psalm."

The question as to the derivation of סלה will be considered later. In the meantime a careful examination of the uses of *Selah* shows that the meaning thus attributed to it, while suitable in many cases, is not satisfactory in all. It is not suitable, for instance, in psalms in which *Selah* occurs every few verses, such as Pss. 3, 32, 46, 52, 66, 67, 77, 84, 87, etc.; or in such passages as Pss. 20:4; 21:3; 52:5; 55:8; 57:4; 67:2; 68:8; 82:2; 85:3, etc., where *Selah* stands between lines connected through parallelism or progress in the thought.

c) *Selah marking the close of a section in psalm or prayer.*—In *ZATW.*, 1896, pp. 137 sq., Jacob presents information as to the liturgical customs of the second temple. He begins his investigation with the seven psalms appointed for the morning *Tamid*; that is, with Pss. 24, 48, 82, 94, 81, 93, 92 (one for each day in the week). Of this list Pss. 24, 48, 81, 82, and (according to the LXX) 94 have *Selah*. It is related in the *Mishna* (*Tamid*, iv, 4) that the last act of the morning *Tamid* was the libation, during which it was customary for the Levites to sing שיר. Whenever they came to the close of a section, the priests sounded on the trumpets and the people prostrated themselves (השתחויו). Jacob regards *Selah* as the sign for the close of a section. In the *Mishna* (*Succa*, v, 3) it is stated that twenty-one blasts of the trumpet are to be heard in the temple daily, and that nine of these occur at the morning *Tamid*, three being given at a time. The first of this threefold succession of blasts preceded the Levites'

song. The second probably served as the signal for prostration at the close of a section; that is, according to Jacob, where *Selah* stands in the psalm. None of the five *Tamid* psalms with *Selah* contains it more than once. Jacob suggests, therefore, that the third series of blasts served as signal to the musical conductor that the pause was over and that the singing might begin again. He explains the absence of *Selah* in Pss. 92, 93 and (in the Hebrew) 94 by referring to the fact that *Selah* does not appear at all in the fourth book of the Psalter, to which these psalms belong.

Another series of psalms used in the temple worship was that appointed for the Feast of Tabernacles; namely, Pss. 29; 50:16 *sq.*; 94:16 *sq.*; 94:8 *sq.*; 81:7 *sq.*; 82:5b *sq.*; 65 (according to b. *Succa*, 53a). Of these psalms the following have *Selah*: Ps. 50:6 (and vs. 15 according to LXX); 81:8; 82:2; 94:15 (according to LXX); while Pss. 29 and 65 are without it. But even in the psalms where it occurs its position does not, for the most part, correspond with the beginning of the strophe or section appointed for use. Jacob attributes this fact to erroneous tradition, and corrects as follows: 81:9 *sq.* for 81:7 *sq.*; 82:3 *sq.* for 82:5b *sq.*; and possibly 50:7 *sq.* for 50:16 *sq.*³⁵ He thinks that Pss. 29 and 65 were sung from beginning to end without break, and therefore required no *Selah*.

Jacob reaches the conclusion that "*Sela* bedeutet einen Absatz im Tempelgesang der Leviten," and again that "*סֵלָה* bedeutet einen Absatz, sei es im Tempelgesange, sei es für den Tempelgesang. Alle Psalmen mit 'ס weisen sich dadurch als Gesänge der Tempelliturgie aus."³⁶ He strengthens his argument by showing that other of the *Selah* psalms are mentioned in the Talmud as used in the temple ritual, and by calling attention to the liturgical character of the psalms themselves, with special reference to their titles and to the priestly benedictions with which some of them conclude (see Pss. 3, 21, 31, 48, 66, 68).

Jacob explains the absence of *Selah* from the Hallel as follows: "Das Hallel ist ohne Unterbrechung von 113–118 als ein einziger Hymnus zur Begleitung des Schlachtens und Blutsprengens vorgetragen worden, und darum treffen wir in ihm kein 'ס, welches eben sonst Anzeige einer Unterbrechung ist."³⁷ Of the

³⁵ For his argument see *ZATW.*, 1896, pp. 143, 144.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 170.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 168, 169.

Pilgrim Songs he writes: "Wie sie auch gesungen sein mögen, mit oder ohne Absätze, so hat 'ס kein Platz in ihnen. Denn wurden sie in Absätzen gesungen, so bilden eben die Psalmen selbst die Absätze."³⁸ Jacob makes no attempt at an etymological explanation, nor does he seek the support of the versions. He considers it impossible to discover the exact meaning of סלה (and apparently also of *διὰ ψαλμα*). He contents himself with presenting a theory as to its use.³⁹

It is evident from this account of the temple ritual that not only whole psalms, but parts of psalms, were sung according to appointment. But if this was true of the temple service, why not also of the service in the synagogues? Jacob's limitation of such a use for Selah to the *temple liturgy* raises many difficulties in the way of the acceptance of his theory.

Without attempting to meet these difficulties or to discuss the merits of this conjecture, let us confine ourselves to the question whether Selah may not serve simply to mark off a section in psalm or prayer. In the first place it may be taken for granted that wherever Selah can be interpreted as indicating a musical interlude, a pause in the singing, a place for the trumpets to sound, for prostration or for prayer—in all such passages it can serve as the sign for *breaking off*; that is, it can mark off a section in the psalm. Indeed, it must be at least this in order to serve any of the above-named purposes. To give Selah this significance is not to deny the possibility of any of those uses. Thus Jacob regards Selah as indicating in the Tamid "die Pause im Levitengesang, in welcher auf einen dreifachen Trompetenstos der beiden Priester das anwesende Volk sich zur Anbetung niederwarf;" and again in the ritual for the Feast of Tabernacles as marking "den Absatz, bei welchem ein selbständiger Gesang in der Tempelliturgie begann."⁴⁰ In short, this theory makes Selah serve the simple purpose of indicating the sections into which a psalm may be divided, when the exigencies of liturgical service render such a division desirable.

This explanation meets one of the chief difficulties raised against the preceding theories; *i. e.*, the presence of Selah between verses which are closely connected in thought. It is quite conceivable that the sections of Pss. 20, 21, 67, 68, 85, etc., and of Hab., chap. 3, as marked by Selah, may have been used separately;

³⁸ ZATW., 1896, p. 169.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-3, 181.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 144.

although it is difficult to explain Selah as indicating an *intermission* (whether for music, prayer, or meditation) which would be an interruption as well. This use would also explain the repetition of Selah in short psalms.

TABLE SHOWING THE POSITION OF SELAH IN THE PSALTER.

AT CLOSE OF SECTION				AT END OF PSALM	WITH CITATIONS	UNEX- PLAINED
2:2, 6	34:11	61:5b	82:2	3:9	44:9	2:4, 5
3:3, 5	37:4	62:5, 9	83:9	9:21	55:8	7:13a
4:3, 5	39:6, 12	66:4, 7, 15	84:5, 8, 9	24:10	57:7	20:4
6:4	46:4, 8	67:5	87:3, 6	46:12	60:6	49:14
7:6, 9a	47:5	68:17, 20,	88:8, 13		67:2	57:3, 4a
9:17	48:9	26, 32	89:38, 46, 49		68:8, 33	61:5a
19:5a	49:16	70:5	94:15		89:5	68:4a,
21:3, 6	50:6, 15	75:4	107:30			14, 15
24:6	52:5, 7	76:4, 10	115:3			70:3
30:4	54:5	77:4, 10, 16	119:19			85:3
31:22	55:20a	80:8	140:4, 6, 9			88:11
32:4, 5, 7	59:6, 14	81:8	143:6			

There are seventy-six cases in which Selah appears between sections in the psalms. In almost every case the division is clearly marked. In every case Selah may well serve the purpose which this theory attributes to it.

The position of Selah at the close of Pss. 3, 9, 24, 46 seems at first sight difficult to reconcile with this interpretation. It should be noticed that Selah is lacking in the LXX at the end of three of these psalms (3, 24, 46), while in the fourth it no longer stands at the end, as Pss. 9 and 10 form one psalm in the Greek text. However, there is no difficulty in explaining these examples, supposing them to be genuine. Selah could be used at the close of a psalm, in accordance with this theory, whenever psalms were grouped together in the ritual, or whenever the final section or verse of a psalm was placed in combination with other passages. Pss. 3, 24, 46 are used repeatedly, in part or as complete psalms, in such combinations, in the Hebrew Prayer Book. It is reasonable to suppose that these psalms were early used in combination with other psalms by the Hebrews in their public worship; since they have been so used to our knowledge for many centuries.

It is not surprising to find Selah used with citations. In Ps. 44:9 it stands just before a citation from Ps. 60:12; in Ps. 55:8 it follows one from Jer. 9:1. Pss. 57:8-12 and 60:7-14 reappear in Ps. 108. Selah stands in 57:7 and 60:6, in each case just

between the duplicate section and the rest of the psalm. The citation from Numb. 6:24, 25 at the beginning of Ps. 67 is followed by Selah. It appears also in Ps. 89:5 after the passage taken from 2 Sam. 7:16, and in Ps. 68:33 before the citation from Deut. 33:26. The position of Selah in Ps. 68:8 is not so easy to explain. Vss. 8 sq. bear a striking resemblance to Judg. 5:4^{sq.} But Selah here stands neither before nor after, but in the midst of, a citation. It seems to be out of place. The use of Selah in this psalm is so very questionable that it seems reasonable to suppose that this particular Selah once stood at the close of the preceding verse, just before the citation. Certainly no theory has yet been proposed which would explain it in its present position.

There remain fourteen examples to be explained. The Selahs in Ps. 2:4, 5 are probably due to dittography. Jacob, comparing with them the Selah in vs. 6, considers that there are probably two examples of dittography in this psalm. The Selah in vs. 6 has been retained in the table, as it stands at the close of a strophe; but there is no difficulty in explaining either of the remaining Selahs, as the verses which precede them may readily be used by themselves. The same thing is true of 70:3 (although here one is tempted to transpose the Selah to vs. 4), and of 85:3 (although here again the Selah seems to belong rather to the close of the following verse). In Ps. 7:13a it is possible that the Selah is in place. True, there is a break between vs. 15 and the preceding verses, so that at first thought one is tempted to transpose the Selah to the close of vs. 14. But vs. 13a would form a more suitable ending to a psalm than vs. 14. If any such change has taken place, it is more probable that the Selah stood originally at the close of vs. 12. The Selah in 88:11 of the Massoretic text is very likely an error for the one given in vs. 13 by the LXX. In Ps. 20:4 the Selah is easily accounted for, even though there is no break in the thought; as it is quite conceivable that vss. 1-4 may have been used at times independently of the rest of the psalm. The Selah in Ps. 49:14 probably belongs at the close of vs. 13, that is, at the close of a strophe; just as the other Selah in this psalm stands at the end of the next strophe (vs. 16). Ps. 57:3, 4a is probably a case of dittography. The LXX supports the Selah in vs. 3, the Hebrew and one MS. of the Greek text the Selah in vs. 4a. The former is, on the whole, the

better position for Selah, but neither is untenable. Ps. 61:5a of the LXX = 61:5b of the Massorah. In 68:4a the Selah is not impossible to explain, although it would seem more suitably placed at the close of the verse. In vss. 14, 15 we have probably another example of dittography.⁴¹ The usage in this psalm is remarkable. The Hebrew text places Selah in vss. 8, 20, 33; the Septuagint in vss. 4a, 8, 14, 20, 33; Holmes-Parsons in vss. 4a, 14, 15, 32, 33; and the Psalterium Vetus in vss. 4, 14, 17, 26—nine Selahs in one psalm, and several of them difficult to explain on any of the theories. One is tempted to regard these as examples of transposition or dittography.

Thus there are but few uses of Selah which cause any difficulty, and only one of these (Ps. 49:14) is in the Hebrew text. There is no accredited example in the Psalter which cannot be explained in a reasonable way according to the theory that Selah divides the psalm into sections for liturgical use.

In Hab. 3:3a, 9a Selah seems at first sight to be out of place, but examination shows that we have here examples of the use of Selah with citations. Vs. 3a should be compared with Deut. 33:2; vss. 9b sq. with Ps. 77:17–21. In connection with the use of Selah in vs. 9a Dr. Driver's statement may be quoted: "Ps. 77:16–19 agrees so closely with Hab. 3:10–15 that one of the two must be dependent upon the other."⁴² Compare with this Dr. Cheyne's comment on Ps. 77:17–20: "These verses are on a different model from that of the rest of the psalm, being tristichs. They do not cohere well either with vss. 14–16 or with vs. 21. They are lyric, not reflective, in tone and style, and have the appearance of having been taken from some other poem."⁴³ This portion of Ps. 77 is separated from the rest of the psalm by Selah. It is not surprising, therefore, that Selah should appear in Hab. 3:9. In the LXX vs. 9a concludes with λέγει κύριος, and is thus distinctly separated from the following passage.

According to the text of Cod. 86b, as given in Klostermann's *Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik* (Leipzig, 1895), διάψαλμα stands at the close of vs. 14, εἰς τέλος taking its place in vs. 13 both in this text and in the Complutensis. Neither example raises any difficulty, and the question as to the genuineness of the reading may be left undecided. The usage in Habakkuk, as it seems, is favorable to this interpretation of Selah.

⁴¹ So Dr. Jacob. ⁴² *Literature of Old Testament*, p. 318. ⁴³ *The Book of Psalms*, p. 216.

We must now consider the use of Selah outside of the Scriptures. There are two examples in the Psalms of Solomon, namely, in Pss. 17 and 18, the most important in the collection. Both are Messianic, Ps. 17 setting forth a lofty conception of the Messiah. Ps. 18 appears in two fragments. Vss. 1-10 are not logically connected with vss. 11-14. The change of subject is so complete that it is suggested in the commentary of Ryle and James that the second fragment properly forms a new psalm. The remark is made that

Against this idea it may be urged that a *διάψαλμα* is inserted by all MSS. save *one* (M), and that that one's evidence is invalidated by the fact that it omits all titles and subscriptions. We at once admit the practical absence of external support, for we lay little stress on the evidence of M.⁴⁴

But, according to the theory we are now considering, *διάψαλμα* itself suggests such a division as these editors, for other reasons, are inclined to make. One of the two examples in the Psalter of Solomon strongly favors the proposed interpretation for Selah.

On *διάψαλμα* in Ps. 17:31 the following comment is made :

Omitted by the Moscow MS. Very likely it is not genuine, any more than the other one in Ps. 18:10, where we believe that a longer pause ought to be expressed. It may have been put in in both places by the man who wrote the titles of our psalms, in order to assimilate them more closely in outward form to the Davidic collection. Against this is the fact that only two are to be found in the whole book. If genuine, they point to a liturgical use of these psalms, of which we have no other trace.⁴⁵

As to these suggestions it may be remarked : *a*) that we have just seen what good reason the editors themselves have for retaining the *διάψαλμα* in Ps. 18:10 ; *b*) that the fact that Selah occurs but twice in the whole collection is sufficient to discredit the conjecture that they were inserted "in order to assimilate [these psalms] more closely . . . to the Davidic collection." *c*) Over against the objection to a liturgical use for these psalms may be placed the following statements, taken from the Introduction, pp. xxv, lix, lx :

The Psalms, according to most critics, were written in Hebrew for liturgical use. They probably would not be so used save in the near neighborhood of Jerusalem, etc.

⁴⁴ Ryle and James, *Psalms of Solomon*, p. 148.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

There follows an argument based on this assumption. Again :

It is possible that the whole collection was intended for public, or even for liturgical, use. The occurrence of "Selah" (διάλαμα) in 17:31; 18:10, if originally part of the text, and not introduced out of mere imitation of the canonical Psalter, would go to support this view. Similarly, if the titles of Pss. 8, 10, 14 are genuine, they would indicate that these psalms at least were originally designed for adaptation to music.

To return to Ps. 17:31. It may be well to quote vss. 30-32, as the use of Selah in this passage is one to raise questions. The Messiah and his kingdom are being described :

Vs. 30. For he shall take knowledge of them, that they be all the sons of their God, and shall divide them upon the earth according to their tribes.

Vs. 31. And the sojourner and the stranger shall dwell with them no more.

He shall judge the nations and the peoples with the wisdom of his righteousness. *Selah*.

Vs. 32. And he shall possess the nations of the heathen to serve him beneath his yoke; and he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of the whole earth, etc.⁴⁶

At first sight Selah seems to be out of place; but on a closer look it becomes apparent that vs. 32 might be connected with vs. 31a as easily as with vs. 31b, so that the connection between vss. 31 and 32 is not so close but that a Selah could intervene. The explanation is simple, if it be remembered that Selah does not indicate, according to this theory, a *necessary*, but a *permissible* division in the psalm, and only shows that the section thus marked off may be omitted when advisable. Vs. 31b would form the most fitting conclusion for a stanza to be found in this portion of the psalm. On the other hand it is quite conceivable that this half of vs. 31 may have been quoted by itself in the same way in which Pss. 3:8; 46:7, and like passages from the canonical Psalter are incorporated repeatedly in the various parts of the Jewish Prayer Book. It reminds one of Pss. 96:13b; 98:9b from the Hallel.

Thus the two examples of Selah in the Psalms of Solomon favor the interpretation now under consideration. The passages in the Jewish Liturgy remain for examination.

We have first to consider the five authenticated examples; namely, those in the שמירה עשרה and those in the morning benedictions preceding the שמע.

⁴⁶ Byle and James, *Psalms of Solomon*, pp. 130-41.

The third of the eighteen benedictions reads as follows: "Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and holy beings praise thee daily. (*Selah.*) Blessed art thou, O Lord, the holy God."⁴⁷ There is no difficulty in explaining the use of this benediction (or of the first three benedictions out of the eighteen) apart from the rest. We have already seen that the first three and the last three are accounted by scholars to be the most ancient of these ancient blessings. Not only so, but they are used more frequently than the rest, and this third benediction occurs repeatedly by itself in the Prayer Book. The only difficulty lies in the position of *Selah* in the midst of the blessing. Even this difficulty is removed, however, when one turns to the *Authorised Prayer Book* (p. 239), and there, among the references to the parts of the book containing the prayers for the New Year service, reads this direction: "For the commencement of the Amidah, see pp. 136-8, from 'O Lord, open thou my lips,' to '*praise thee daily. (Selah.)*' Then continue: etc."⁴⁸ It is customary, therefore, in the Jewish ritual to omit the words following *Selah* in this third benediction, on certain occasions. This is exactly what an advocate of our theory would have been likely to suggest as an explanation of the original use of *Selah* in this passage, had there been no such liturgical direction to support his theory. In the eighteenth benediction *Selah* occurs twice. The immediate context is as follows: "and everything that liveth shall give thanks unto thee *forever* (Hebr. סלה), and shall praise thy name in truth, O God, our salvation and our help. (Hebr. סלה left here untranslated.) Blessed art thou, O Lord, whose name is All-good, and unto whom it is becoming to give thanks."⁴⁹ These words come at the close of what is the longest of the eighteen benedictions. Both *Selahs* may be explained on the supposition that they indicate how the prayer may be shortened, or where extracts may be made.

In the prayer beginning אל ברוך גדול דעה *Selah* occurs at the end as follows: "Be thou blessed, O Lord our God, for the excellency of thy handiwork, and for the bright luminaries which thou hast made: they shall glorify thee *forever*" (Hebr. סלה).⁵⁰ It is difficult to judge of this passage, unless one knows whether it stood originally by itself or not. Jacob speaks of this and the

⁴⁷ Cf. *Authorised Prayer Book*, p. 45.

⁴⁸ Cf. also pp. 245, 256.

⁴⁹ *Authorised Prayer Book*, p. 53.

⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 38.

prayer which is next to be considered as "the morning benedictions before the Shema." These two prayers are separated by a short passage which bears some marks of a late date. A portion of it, however, resembles our "benedictions" and may well have formed part of an original series of benedictions now imbedded in later prayers or lost entirely. In the absence of proof, however, this must be counted among the doubtful uses.

The prayer beginning with the words "אהבה רבה אהבחנו" closes thus: "Thou hast chosen us from all peoples and tongues, and hast brought us near unto thy great name *forever* (Hebr. סלה) in faithfulness, that we might in love give thanks unto thee and proclaim thy unity. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast chosen thy people Israel in love."⁵¹ How shall we explain Selah in this passage? As an example of misplacement, because it might well stand before the "Blessed art thou," after the example of benedictions 3 and 18? or as indicating the possibility of closing the prayer with the words "unto thy great name"? Both explanations are purely conjectural, and yet either one suits the case much better than those afforded by any of the other interpretations proposed for Selah.

Of the examples that remain two are clearly not genuine, and the others are of questionable origin. One of these appears at the close of the prayer appointed for the sabbath preceding the new moon, following the *amen*. Its originality has been doubted on the ground that it is lacking in this prayer as quoted in the Talmud. But whether this Selah be genuine or not, it might be explained on the assumption that it indicated a permissible break or close for this portion of the liturgy, the only difficulty being its presence after the *amen*.

The last example is that which occurs in the brief blessing: "May he who bestowed all good on thee bestow all good on thee. *Selah*." This benediction may have originally formed one of a group. But as nothing certain is known as to its date or original context, we have no means of judging as to the authenticity of the Selah. Certainly it does not count against our theory.

Thus it is evident that, in spite of a few doubtful cases, all of which may be explained in one way or another, the *use* of Selah is accounted for in a reasonable manner by the theory that it marks the end of a section, or the secondary close, in psalm or

⁵¹ *Authorized Prayer Book*, p. 40.

prayer. This is the only one of the theories considered which has satisfied all the requirements of the case. The support of the LXX may be claimed for it, and it is favored by such traditions concerning the temple ritual as are preserved to us in the Talmud.

The Jewish tradition as to the meaning of Selah and the early Christian tradition as to the meaning of *διάψαλμα* still remain to be accounted for. In his recent article on Selah,⁵² Professor Briggs offers an explanation which seems to reconcile this conflicting testimony, to do justice to the modern theories here discussed, and to throw light upon the use as well as upon the meaning of Selah. He suggests that when a section of psalm or prayer was used apart from its context in liturgical service, it was followed by a doxology: so that סלה marked the place for a doxology. Psalter and Prayer Book alike bear testimony to the early fondness of the Jews for the doxology. Graetz⁵³ writes as follows: "Zum Schlusse des Psalmes oder der Psalmgruppe pflegte der Liturge noch eine *Doxologie* hinzuzufügen;" and again, referring to the benedictions at the close of Pss. 41, 72, 89, 106, he writes: "Die Benediction gehört . . . keinesweges ausschliesslich diesen vier Psalmen an, sondern war bei jeder Recitation irgend eines Psalmes in Gebrauch."

Baethgen⁵⁴ quotes Jacob of Edessa (Bar Hebr. 10:1) in the following words:

In einigen . . . Exemplaren ist statt *διάψαλμα* בכל זמן (d. i. *del*) geschrieben. Nämlich allenthalben wo die Sänger, welche Gott mit Lobliedern priesen, ihre Worte abbrachen, musste das zuhörende Volk nach ihnen dies "immer" anstimmen, sozusagen: immer sei Gott gelobt und gepriesen durch diese Loblieder, ebenso wie bei uns in der Kirche nach dem "jetzt und immerdar und in alle Ewigkeit" das Volk zur Bestätigung "amen" sagt.

Baethgen's comment is:

Diese Erklärung würde sachlich völlig befriedigen; es ist aber nicht erklärt und lässt sich nicht erklären, wie סלה zu der Bedeutung *del* kommen sollte.

But if the rendering of the Jewish-Palestinian versions is the last word of a doxology, used according to ancient custom to represent the whole doxology; and if Selah marks the place where this doxology was used, then indeed it is easy to explain how Selah

⁵² See footnote 1.

⁵³ *Comm. z. d. Psalmen*, pp. 63, 92.

⁵⁴ *Handkommentar z. Alt. Testament*, II, 2, p. xii.

came to have the meaning of *âel*. According to this view the Jewish tradition preserves not the meaning, but the use, of Selah, as marking the place for a benediction.

Professor Briggs explains the early Christian tradition by the fact that such benedictions were usually sung or chanted; so that the place marked by *διὰ ψαλμα* was frequently the place for a change in the music. This conclusion harmonizes with the result reached by him in his inductive study of the Selah psalms; namely, that Selah "indicates some kind of a change in the musical rendering." It also seems to meet the requirements of scholars who have been led to think that Selah marked the place for prayer, for a change of some kind in the music, for a pause in the service, and the like.

There is some doubt as to the etymology of סִלְה. Scholars differ as to its derivation in accordance with their different views as to its meaning. Origen transliterates סִלְה by *σελ*. This looks as though the ה were an addition to the stem. In that case סל would be the imperative of סלל "to lift up," and סִלְה would be the cohortative imperative.⁵⁵

Jacob suggests that the Massorites, not understanding Selah, but accepting the traditional Hebrew interpretation that it was a synonym for נָצַח, pointed accordingly סִלְה, the patach becoming qāmes before ה.⁵⁶ Compare with this the pointing of the divine name יְהוֹה. This explanation seems more satisfactory than the usual one, that the pointing is that of the imperative in pause. The meaning which this derivation gives to Selah, i. e., *Lift up* (the voice in a doxology), corresponds with the service which the word seems to have rendered.

Our examination of the various conjectures as to the meaning and use of Selah has led to the following conclusions:

a) That Selah does not mean *forever*, but it marks the place for a doxology ending in *forever*.

b) That Selah does not indicate the close of a strophe, but it usually stands at the end of one.

c) That Selah is not an abbreviation, but the word by which it is translated in many versions represents an entire sentence.

d) That Selah was not a musical note, but it indicated the place for the singing of the doxology with such musical changes as custom may have dictated.

⁵⁵ Cf. C. A. Briggs, as quoted in footnote 1.

⁵⁶ *ZATW.*, 1896, p. 178.

e) That Selah was not, strictly speaking, a call to prayer, and yet it marked the place where psalm or prayer might be brought to a close with a doxology.

f) That Selah was a liturgical direction, providing for the *lifting up* of the voices in a doxology at the close of a liturgical section, and indicating the proper division of psalm or prayer in liturgical usage.

This seems to have been the significance of Selah. It is a meaning in harmony with the rendering of the versions, with the simplest and most commonly accepted derivation, and with the usage of the word in the Scriptures, the Psalms of Solomon, and the Hebrew Liturgy. It seems to satisfy all the requirements of the case. But supposing that it does so, there still remain many questions which call for an answer. How are we to account for the absence of Selah from 100 or more of the 150 psalms of the canonical Psalter and from 16 out of the 18 psalms of Solomon? Granting that there was an early as well as a late use of Selah, was there any difference between them? Was there an independent use of Selah among the Jews of the dispersion? Questions such as these remain for the consideration of scholars.

ON A PASSAGE IN THE BABYLONIAN NIMROD EPIC.

BY PROFESSOR CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, M.D., PH.D.,
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

In the great epic poem celebrating the exploits of the Babylonian Nimrod Gilgameš—of course identical with the king Gilgames mentioned in Aelian, *Περὶ Ζῴων*, XII, 21—it is related that the hero, being afflicted by the goddess Ištar with a loathsome disease, apparently *lues venerea*,¹ determines to seek the aid of his ancestor, the Babylonian Noah, Xisouthros, who had been miraculously preserved from the universal destruction at the time of the deluge, and had been translated, endowed with immortality, to the Island of the Blessed “at the mouth of the rivers.” This means, of course, the mysterious region at the confluence of the four rivers of Paradise, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Karoon, and the Kerkha, at the northern shore of the Persian gulf.²

After a series of wonderful adventures, Gilgameš reaches the shore of the waters of death and is ferried over by the ferryman, Arad-Ea. On his arrival at the Island of the Blessed he is met by his ancestor Xisouthros, who, after giving him an account of his miraculous preservation in the great flood, heals him of his disease by means of magical rites and purifying baths, and, as a parting gift, informs him how to obtain a certain wonderful plant which has the power of imparting perpetual youth. Gilgameš, following the instructions of his ancestor, obtains the coveted plant and embarks with it on his homeward journey to Erech, in company with the ferryman of the waters of death, Arad-Ea. On reaching the farther shore he travels toward Erech, but, stopping to drink at a fountain of cool water, he is startled by a demon in the form of a serpent and drops the plant, which is immediately seized and carried off by the evil deity. Lamenting the irreparable loss he resumes his journey, and finally arrives at Erech.

¹ See the interesting paper on this subject by the Vienna dermatologist, Dr. J. K. Proksch, entitled “Syphilis in Ancient Babylonia and Assyria,” published in *Unna's Dermatological Monthly*, Vol. XII (1891).

² See Professor Haupt's article, “Wo lag das Paradies?” in *Ueber Land und Meer*, 1894-95, No. 15.

Lines 300–301 of the eleventh tablet (Haupt's *Nimrod Epic*, p. 148), describing the homeward journey before the adventure at the fountain, read as follows: ana ešrā KAS.BU iksupū kusāpu, ana šelašā KAS.BU iškunū nūbattu. Lines 318–19, which are identical, refer to the progress toward Erech after the loss of the magic plant. The late George Smith read in the first passage the figures 10 and 20 instead of 20 and 30, respectively, and Delitzsch's edition of the text in his *Assyrische Lesestücke* (3d ed., 1885, p. 109, l. 269) has the same reading. Professor Haupt's collation of the text, however, makes it evident that the figures 20 and 30 must be read in both cases (cf. *Beitr. zur Assyrl.*, Vol. I, p. 144). The same words also occur in ll. 44–5 of the fragment relating to the adventure with the tyrant Khumbaba—evidently the *Κομβάβος* of Lucian's *Περὶ τῆς Συρίας Θεοῦ*—published on p. 57 of Haupt's *Nimrod Epic*.

These lines have been variously interpreted. George Smith, in his *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, rendered the first passage: "for 10 kaspu (70 miles) they journeyed the stage, for 20 kaspu (140 miles) they made hostility." As the older Assyriologists, according to a principle not yet entirely extinct, liked to lend variety to their renderings of the same phrases, he translated the lines in the second passage: "20 kaspu (140 miles) they journeyed the stage. For 30 kaspu (210 miles) they performed the labour."

Dr. Alfred Jeremias, in his article "Izdubar-Nimrod," published in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Vol. II, translates the first passage, "they traveled 10(?) miles by stages [*stückweise*];³ after 20 miles they made a halt." The second passage he renders in the same way, reading, of course, 20 and 30 instead of 10 and 20, respectively. Professor Jensen, of Marburg, in his *Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassburg, 1890, p. 107) renders, "every 10 (20) hours they rested [*rasteten sie*], every 20 (30) hours they reposed [*ruhten sie*]," meaning apparently that every 10 (20) hours they took a rest or breathing spell, and every 20 (30) hours they took a sleep. Jensen, however, withdraws this explanation in his addenda and corrigenda (p. 502), where he explains kusāpu as meaning probably "food, food-offering" (cf. also pp. 532, 535). Professor Delitzsch in his *Handwörterbuch* (p. 344), adopting Professor Haupt's reading of the numerals, renders, "after every 20 miles

³ I. e., halting repeatedly, like *יִלְכֹךְ לַמַּסְעִיר* in the story of Abraham, Gen. 13:3.

they held a lament for the dead, after every 30 miles they performed ceremonies in honor of the dead"—a commendable evidence of their piety, but hardly probable. All these explanations are more or less conjectural and fail to remove the difficulties which center about the words *iksuptû kusâpu* and *nûbattu*. Professor Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, pp. 71, n. 1; 76, n. 2) considers that *nûbattu* is borrowed from the Sumerian *nu-bad* "incomplete," and thinks it means "fast-day;" but this explanation, though ingenious, is hardly convincing.

Although in a single passage (II R., plate 32, 13) [*ûm*] *nûbatti*^m apparently occurs as a synonym of *ûm idirti* "day of tribulation," it is quite certain that *nûbattu* does not in every case mean "fast-day." In the hemerology for the intercalary month of Elul (IV R., plate 32) all the days designated as *nûbattu* are qualified as *ûmu mâgîru* "lucky day." Jensen, *Kosmologie*, reads NU.BAD as an ideogram with *tu* as phonetic complement, and thinks that it is perhaps to be read *šabattu* (Hebr. שבת "sabbath"). He here (p. 107) assigns to the word the meaning "rest," but withdraws this explanation in a note subsequently added (p. 502). Professor Delitzsch, who comments upon the word at some length in *Beitr. zur Assyrl.*, Vol. I, p. 231, offers *nupittu* and *numittu* as possible readings. He arrives at no definite conclusion in regard to the etymology, but is inclined to think that *nubattu* (*nupittu*, *numittu*) means "holiday," as opposed to "workday," adducing a number of passages in support of his view. In his *Handwörterbuch*, p. 344, he gives *nubattu* (with the alternate readings *nubittu*, *numittu*) as meaning, perhaps, "lamentation, sigh," then, with special reference to fervent prayer, "time of repentance and prayer," etc., but remarks that the explanation is not very certain. Quoting (*ibid.*) from the passage of the Nimrod Epic at present under consideration, Delitzsch defines "here apparently of lamentation for the dead [*Todtenklage*], ceremony in honor of the dead [*Todtenfeier*]." This rendering, which hardly suits the context (especially in the fragment relating to the slaying of the tyrant Khumbaba), he doubtless bases on his erroneous interpretation of *kispu* (*Handw.*, p. 344), and the occurrence of the words *iksuptû kusâpu* in the preceding line.

Professor Haupt, writing in 1889 in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* (Vol. I, p. 144), suggested that *nûbattu* might be derived

from the stem עבד "to serve." Nûbattu (= mu'badtu, with the well-known dissimilation of the initial labial nasal) would then have originally signified "divine service, worship" (like Mishnic עבדה), then "religious festival, holy day," and finally "holiday" in general. It is true, as Professor Haupt points out, that the stem עבד occurs elsewhere in Assyrian only in the rare word abdu, given in the vocabularies as a synonym of ardu, "servant," but this constitutes no valid objection. 'Abd "servant" is doubtless a primitive Semitic word, and in religious terminology the survival of archaic expressions is not uncommon. Certainly the meaning "holy day, holiday" suits all the passages in which nûbattu occurs. In the single case referred to above where [ûm] nûbatti^m occurs in a vocabulary parallel to ûm idirti "day of tribulation," the two expressions need not be taken as exact synonyms. The question of synonyms in the Assyrian vocabularies is one that must, at all times, be handled with caution; besides, it is hardly possible to define the exact shade of meaning of a word found only in a vocabulary and not within the context of a coherent text. It is quite possible that ûm nûbatti^m "holy day," as a general expression, may have been used in certain cases for ûm idirti, "day of tribulation," or whatever the phrase may mean, as a day of worship with the special object of deprecating divine wrath. German *Busstag*, "day of repentance, fast-day"—or, as it is rendered in Thieme-Preusser's *Standard German-English Dictionary*, "penitentiary day"—in the various states of Germany is really less a day of repentance than a holiday like our Thanksgiving Day.⁴ It must also be noted that vocabularies were frequently prepared for the elucidation of particular texts, and in such cases, as in all ancient glossaries, only rare words or words occurring in unusual meanings are explained in them. The definition of [ûm] nûbatti^m as ûm idirti may be a case in point. At all events, too much stress should not be laid upon an apparent exception of this nature as opposed to numerous other passages, and we need have little hesitation in rendering the words ana šelašš KAS.BU iškunû nûbattu, "every 30 double leagues they took a rest" (literally, "made a holiday").

The verb kasâpu is explained by Delitzsch in his *Handwörterbuch*, p. 344, as a denominative from kusâpu, and the

⁴ For the legal *Busstag* in Saxony, for example, the Prussian beer gardens, across the frontier, announce bock beer, dances, and other evidences of repentance, and vice versa.

phrase *iksuptû kusâpu* is rendered "they held a lament for the dead." This phrase has long been explained by Professor Haupt in his classes as meaning "they took a meal," and this interpretation is now substantiated by two passages to be found in Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*. The first passage occurs in the text 82, 5-22, 174 (= Harper's *Letters*, No. 341). It is a letter from Šamaš-mita-uballiṣ to the king, and, omitting the formula of greeting, it reads as follows: *umâ amtu ša šarri Bâ'u-gamilat marṣat adanniš: lā kusâpi takkal. Umâ šarru belī ṭemi liškun, asû išten lillika lîmurši*, "Bâ'u-gamilat, the handmaid of the king, is very ill: she eats no food. Let my lord the king give orders that a physician may come and see her." The second passage occurs in the text K. 569, published in the first volume of Harper's *Letters* (No. 78). In this letter the astrologer Balasi³ writes to the king (obv., ll. 9-12): *Bel-ûmu-eṣī, ša ikkušû šarru ukarrûni, kusâpu la ekulûni, adī im-mate ša'âlû*, "Bel-ûmu-eṣī, whose heart the king has grieved, eats no food, (but) asks (continually), how long (shall I be thus afflicted)?" In these two instances it is clear that *kusâpu* can only mean "food," and the whole passage from the Nimrod Epic should therefore be rendered: "every 20 double leagues they took a meal; every 30 double leagues they took a rest."

The primitive meaning of the stem כָּסַפּ seems to have been "to be pale, or white," whence Assyrian *kaspu* "silver" (כָּסַפּ, נֶפֶס), i. e., as in Sumerian *ku-babbar*, "the pale, or white metal." In the Old Testament the verb כָּסַפּ occurs in four passages in the meaning "to be eager, long for," properly "to turn pale with longing" (Gen. 31:30; Pss. 17:12; 84:3; Job 14:15). In post-biblical Hebrew the word has the same signification (cf. Levy, *Neu-Hebr. WB.*, Vol. II, p. 368). In Assyrian *kusâpu* the sense seems to have been specialized, and the word would mean first "longing for food, hunger," and then, applied to the object longed for, "food," just as *biblu* means both "desire" and "object of desire." We have an excellent parallel in *bûbûtu*, a reduplicated form from the stem בָּדַד, meaning originally "emptiness," then "hunger," and finally "food." Numerous passages for the use of *bûbûtu* in both meanings are cited in

³ See my thesis, *The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians*, Part I. p. 158, No. 12.

Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch*, p. 166. In the phrase *iksuptu kusapu* the verb is doubtless denominative, as explained by Delitzsch.

The word *kispu* is explained by Dr. Alfred Jeremias in his work, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (Leipzig, 1887) as meaning "lamentation" (*Trauerklage*), while Delitzsch, in his review of Dr. Jeremias' book (*Lit. Centr.-Bl.*, March 16, 1889), prefers to translate "offering to the dead" (*Todtenopfer*). In his *Handwörterbuch*, however, he defines the word as "lament for the dead" (*Todtenklage*), "ceremony in honor of the dead" (*Todtenfeier*). The correct explanation of *kispu* was given in 1889 by Professor Haupt, who stated in *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, Vol. I, p. 316, that it meant an offering of food to the shades of the dead, while *naq me*, which occurs in connection with *kispu*, meant a drink-offering. Thus Sardanapallus, slaying the captured Babylonians, ironically remarks in his annals (*Ašurb.*, col. iv, 70 *sqq.*) that he kills them as an offering (*ina kispi*) to the manes of his grandfather Sennacherib; and when, after the capture of Susa, he exposes and desecrates the tombs of the ancient Elamite kings, he states, *ekimmešunu la ʕalalu emid, kipe naq-me uzammi šuntūti*, "I made their shades have no repose, I deprived them of food- and drink-offerings" (*Ašurb.*, col. vi, ll. 75-6). The same monarch, in the text K. 891, rev. 1-2 (Pinches, *Texts*, p. 17), informs us: *adē kispi naq mē ana ekimme šarrāni alikūt maxri ša šubṭulu arkus, ana ili u amelūtu^m, ana mitūti u balṭūti ṭabta epuš*, "the observance of food- and drink-offerings to the manes of the kings my predecessors, which had fallen into disuse, I reestablished; to god and man, to the dead and to the living, I did (ever) good."⁶ Although the vocabulary, published II R., plate 32, No. 1, is partly mutilated, it is probable that *am kispi* is to be read in l. 12a, and this could very well mean a day specially appointed for making food-offerings to the shades of the departed—a sort of Assyrian All-Souls' Day.⁷ This explanation is certainly more satisfactory than the older one, combining *naq me* "pouring out of water" with the familiar Hebrew phrase מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּה בְּקִיר (or perhaps more correctly מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּה), rendered in the A. V.

⁶ See Meissner's *Supplement zu den Assyrischen Wörterbüchern*, p. 23b.

⁷ See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 682.

"that pisseth against the wall." Of course, in the Old Testament this expression simply means "male." It is well known that the English geologist W. K. Loftus, during his excavations in southern Babylonia, found in the graves of the great necropolis at Warka, the Erech of the Nimrod Epic, numberless small clay water-jars and flat clay dishes with the remains of food, fish and chicken bones, date-stones, etc., evidently placed there for the sustenance of the departed. The custom, as well as the Babylonian belief in regard to the subject, receives light from the last lines of the Nimrod Epic. There (*Beitr. zur Assyr.*, Vol. I, p. 65) we read that the hero slain in battle rests upon a couch, drinking pure water, while his kindred lavish upon him their loving care; but there is no rest for him whose corpse has been left unburied in the fields. The conclusion of the passage (ll. 9-12) is as follows: ša ekimmušu pāqida la išû, tāmur atamar, šukulāt diqari, kusipāt akāli ša ina sūqi nadā ikkal, "he whose shade has none to care for it—thou hast seen, and I have seen—consumes the dregs of the bowl, the broken fragments of food that are cast in the street."

The piety of Sardanapallus toward his grandfather and the ancient kings of Assyria, as well as his revengeful act toward his old enemies of Elam, can therefore be readily understood. In the former case he acts as a pāqidu to secure the repose of the souls of his ancestors; in the latter case he carries his vengeance beyond the grave and condemns the shades of his foes to a most wretched existence.⁸

⁸ See Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 595 sqq.

A SYRIAC-ARABIC NARRATIVE OF MIRACLES OF JESUS.

BY REV. W. SCOTT WATSON, A.M.,
West New York, N. J.

Among some manuscripts that I obtained in Sidon, Syria, was a fragment of eight leaves, of which the first eleven pages contain the concluding portion of a collection of extra-canonical accounts of miraculous events alleged to have occurred in the life of Jesus. What remains of the text is here published. The work evidently was not an original one in Arabic, but a translation from the Syriac. The date given in the colophon corresponds to A. D. 1599.

ARABIC TEXT.

الرجل منها مثل كل سنة مثل مقائي ارض فلسطين في تلك
السنة ووفى الرجل منها مثل كل سنة¹ ووفى دينه واصطلم حاله
وفضل عنده بعد ذلك اربع تالاف درهم فاحدها وسار الي عند
سيدنا المسيح وقال له يا سيدي قد اوفيت ديني واصطلم حالي
وقد فضل عندي اربع الاف درهم وقد اتيت بها الي خدمتك ما
الذي تامرني اصنع بها فقال له السيد المسيح امضي اتصدق
بها علي المساكين ثم عاد اليه وقال له يا سيدي قد اتصدقت
بلدراهم علي الفقرا والمساكين كما امرتني حتي لم يبقا معي

¹ The words *سنة مثل كل* are probably to be omitted as a dittograph.

² It seems unnecessary to note every instance of the confusion of letters (e. g., the use of *ل* for *ي*, *ن* for *د*, and *ي* for *ي*) or of the occurrence of more serious departures from classical correctness, as the Arabic scholar to whom such a list may be of interest can readily gather the facts for himself.

منها ولا درهم قال له السيد نعم ما صنعت فاتبعني وتبعه وصار
 له تلميذ وهذا واحد من السبعين وعلي يديه رجع خلق كثير
 من بني اسرائيل [p. 2] وغيرهم الي الايمان وقبلوا المعمودية
 المقدسة وكان اول من امن علي يديه اهل عسقلان العجب
الثاني وعشرين³ في حال الامراه الذي دنت من ثوب السيد
 المسيح فبريت من ساعتها من نزيف الدم وكان يقال لها يوسفيا
 ولما شفاها تدمروا عليه اليهود وقالوا انت ايسوع ابن يوسف
 التجار ثم التفت ايسوع الي الحجرة ونظر فيها صبيات ترعا فقال
 لها ايتها الوحوش تعالي الي هاهنا وعربي هذه الجمع من انا ومن
 اين جيت والي اين اذهب فجت تلك الصبيات بسرعة وسجدت
 بين يدي سيدنا المسيح فتعجبت الناس منها وفتحت فمها
 ونطقت بلسان فصيم مثل السنه الناس وقالت انت المسيح خالق
 السماوات والارض انت مخلص العالم كما تنبت [p. 3] عليك
 الانبيا فكثرت تعجب الحاضرين من ذلك وكان عدد ذلك الجمع سبع
 الاف واربعماية اثنين وثمانين رجلاً غير النساء والصبيان فتكثروا
 من ذلك وذهبت عقولهم وقالوا من فماً واحداً هذا هو المسيح
 مخلص اسرائيل هذا هو المسيح المبعوث من الله تعالي لخلاص
 اسرائيل والامم كلها وقال السيد لتلك الصبيات انطلقني وارجعي
 الي مراكمي وانتي من اليوم لا سبيل عليك من الناس فرجعت
 تلك الصبيات الي البرية من وقتها وجميع من حضر⁴ سمع الله

³ Words written in red ink in the manuscript are here underlined.

⁴ Read حضر.

علي ما نظروا من هذه العجب الباهر . العجب الثالث وعشرين في
الذي عمله سيدنا في طرد الجراد من ارض فلسطين وفي الجليل
وارض يهودا وذلك ان اهل الجليل واهل يهودا اقاموا اربع سنين
ونصف يزرعوا [p. 4] فياتي الجراد فيرعاه اذا اقترب الحصاد وصار
علي الناس في تلك البلد شده شديدة وجوعًا عظيم حتي مات
اكثرهم فلما تمت عليهم في ذلك الوقت اربع سنين ونصف
جوعًا اجتمعوا جماعة من بني اسرائيل وقالوا فيما بينهم ان كان
هذا الرجل يرفع عنا هذا البلا فهللوا بنا نمضي اليه ونخبره
بامرنا ثم قالوا لنيقوديمس نحن نسالك يا معلم ان تمضي الي
ايسوع المسيح وحدك فانه صديقك وتساله بالله ان يرفع عنا
هذه البلية العظيمة فبضا اليه نيقوديمس وساله وقال له ايها
المعلم الصالح اننا نعلم انك من الله مرسل واتيت الي العالم
وانت حكمة الله وقدرته وقوته وانت حقًا وان هذه البلاد الذي
نحن فيه [p. 5] نزل عليها البلية من السمحط والجراد فاتحن علينا
برحمتنا منك وادفع عنا السمحط والرجز فقد خرب الجراد بلادنا
واكل رزقنا فارحمنا بحببتك واغفر لنا بنعمتك وادفع عنا هذه
السمحطه فكان عمر سيدنا من وقت ان ولد من سيدتنا
مترميم عشرين سنة من حيث ان ولد من مترميم وعند ذلك
امر سيدنا لذلك الجراد ان يرتفع في يوم السبت عن تلك البلاد
وابصروه اليهود ونيقوديمس اغاضل بعينه ملاك الله يخاطب

* In the preceding three lines, as well as in the following sentence, the translator into Arabic has given a double rendering of portions of the text before him.

سيدنا المسيح لما ابصر وجه سيدنا قد اعلاه نور يفوق نور الشمس سبعة اضعاف وكذلك ابصر الملاك بيظرب⁶ الجراد بجناحه⁷ ويطرده بيديه فامن بسيدنا خلق كثير وسبحوا الله . العجب الرابع وعشرين [p. 6] في ذلك الزمان كانت السباع من كل جهة قد غلبت علي ارض عسقلان حتي ما احداً يقدر يخرج من باب منزله بعد غروب الشمس فانطلقوا اهل عسقلان الي سيدنا وقالوا له ايها المعلم الصالح ان الله ارسلك وان كنا غير مستاهلين ادفع عنا هذه السباع الضارية الذي غلبت علينا وعلي بلدنا فاننا نعلم انها تسمع منك وتطيع امرك فقال لهم سيدنا المسيح قد رحمتكم لكثرت تضرعكم⁸ فارجعوا الي بلدكم وقولوا في موضع ان تجتمع السباع اليه ان ايسوع المسيح يامرهم ايها السباع ان لا تثبتوا ولا تقافوا⁹ في هذا البلد ولا تفسدي فيها احد فرجعوا اهل عسقلان الي بلدكم وافرزوا منهم رجلاً اسمه ناثانايل الذي من قانا الجليل ونادا وقال في نواحي البلد [p. 7] كما امره السيد المسيح فلما قال في نواحي البلد ذلك اجتمع اليه من السباع عدّة كثيرة فمد يده وقال لهم انصرفوا من هذه البلد ولا تقافوا¹⁰ فيه ولا تعودوا اليه ولا تدخلوه كما امركم ايسوع المسيح خلاص العالم من خطاياهم والمسيح لا يخيبكم من رزقكم ولا يدعكم بلا قوت فطامنوا¹¹ اجميع السباع روسهم في تلك الساعة وسجدوا لهذا الرسول ناثانايل

⁶ Read بيضرب .

⁷ Read بجناحه .

⁸ Read تضرعكم .

⁹ Read تقاموا .

¹⁰ Read تقاموا .

¹¹ Read فطاموا .

وانطلقوا من ذلك البلد ولم يرجعوا اليه فلما نظروا اهل عسقلان
 هذا العجب العظيم امنوا بسيدنا المسيح خلق كثير علي يد
 ناثانايل وسجوا الله ومجدوه هـ العجب الخامس وعشرين وكان
 سيدنا المسيح في بعض الايام في بركة ربحا ومعهم تلاميذه
 الحواريون فجا عليهم المسا وغربت [p. 8] الشمس فقال سمعان
 الصفا يا سيدنا قد دنا المسا وليس في هذا الموضع مكان نبيت
 فيه فقال له سيدنا ايسوع المسيح فح بقرب اورشليم فادخل يا
 سمعان الي المدينة فتجد رجلا سيمح في يده خروف فادا رايت
 فقول له ان معلنا يريد النزول عندك فانه يدخل الي المدينة
 فدخل سمعان الي مدينة اورشليم فصادف الرجل كما قال له
 سيدنا ايسوع المسيح فكثير تعجب سمعان الصفا وباقي التلاميذ
 لما عاينوا انفسهم في اورشليم وقالوا الساعة كنا في ربحا فكيف
 وصلنا في ساعتنا واحدة الي اورشليم فرفعوا اصواتهم وسجوا الله
 الذي ما يعسر عليه شي من الاشيا الذي سلم الامور الي ناسوت
 ابنه ومسيحه ثم خرج هذا الرجل بعد دخول التلاميذ الي
 المدينة [p. 9] الي منزله ومضا الي جبل الزيتون ودعا سيدنا
 المسيح الي منزله وهذا الرجل هو عمالايل اخو نيقوديمس ولما
 دخل المسيح سيدنا الي منزله وراي ان الاعمدة الذي في البيت
 قد عرقت من خوفها منه فقال صاحب البيت يا سيدي ابصر
 الاعمدة كيف عرقت من هيبتك وعظمتك¹² فقال السيد المسيح

¹² Read وعظمتك.

هذه المجارة حق لانت وقلوب بني اسرائيل يابسه قاسيه لا تلين
 فطوبا لمن امن بي وبروح قدسي" والويل لمن كفر بي لان
 الذي يكفر بي امام الناس اكفر به انا قدام ابي الذي في
 السماوات ومن امن بي قدام الناس اقربه قدام ابي الذي في
 السماوات وانه قام تلك الليلة ومضا الي طور ثابور ومعه سمعان
 ويعقوب ويوحنا اخيه [p. 10] واخبرهم بما يكون قبل مجيئه كما هو
 مكتوب في الانجيل الطاهر وعمل سيدنا العجايب الي ان تم له
 ثلاثين سنة عند ذلك جا الي يوحنا واعتمد في نهر الاردن وله
 ثلاثين سنة حينئذ اخذ تلاميذه وبدا يكرز ويعمل العجايب
 العظيمة وفي تلك السنه توفى يوسف وخلف اولاده وعندم سيدنا
 المسيح وامه مريم في الناصرة عند يعقوب ويوسي ومريم اختهم
 الذي ذكر عنها الانجيل ان كان عند الصليب امه واخت امه
 لان مريم لم يكن لها اخ ولا اخت ولما صعد سيدنا المسيح
 الي السما عندها سمعان الصفا وقبلها يوحنا الانجيلي البثول وكان
 مقام السيدة في العالم احد وخمسين سنة واقام السيد علي
 الارض نحو اربعة ثلاثين سنة واقامت [p. 11] السيدة بعد صعوده
 اربع سنين* فنسال الرب الاله المتجسد منها الصانع العجايب
 الكثيرة لها" اوجب ان يحيي ادم بعد سقطته برحمته ان يقيم
 انفسنا نحن الساططين في الخطايا وان يجمعنا مع اباينا الصديقين

¹² For مرعاكي for مرعاكي above. قدس; cf., e. g.,

¹⁴ Read كما.

القديسين وذلك يكون لنا ولجميع المومنين وان يكف عنا
 الافات¹⁵ والنقم والتهم والرجفات والهديانات والبلايا الصعبات
 وينظر الينا بالاحسان والنعم وان يخلصنا من عدونا ويرحمنا
 برحمتا منه لانه رحمان وينظر الينا ويرشدنا الي طريق الكمال
 ويرزقنا الي سيرة الاعتدال فان له ينبغي الجد والاكرام والسبح
 والعظمة الان وكل اوان والي دهر الداهرين امين غفر
الله للناسخ المسكين خطايا وخطايا والديه وهو الفقير عبد
النو، باسم اغنسط حرر ذلك
سنة سبعة الاف مائة وسبعة
لادم عليه السلام

TRANSLATION.

The man . . . of it as every year. As gardens of cucumbers was the land of Palestine in that year. And he paid his debt and his condition improved, and there remained with him after that four thousand pieces of money [*lit. dirhems*]. And he took them and went to our Lord the Christ and said to him, O my Lord, I have paid my debt and my condition hath improved, and there remain with me four thousand pieces of money and I have brought them for thy service. What dost thou command me to do with them? And the Lord the Christ said to him, Go, give alms with them to the poor. Then he returned to him and said to him, O my Lord, I have given alms to the destitute and the poor with the pieces of money, as thou didst command me, until there remaineth not one of them with me. The Lord said to him, Excellent is what thou hast done; now follow me. And he followed him and became a disciple of him. And this was one of the seventy, and through him a great multitude of the children of Israel and of others returned to the faith and received the holy baptism, and the first who believed through him were the people of Askelon.

The Twenty-second Miracle.

Concerning the state of the woman who came near the garment of the Lord the Christ and was healed of the issue of blood from that hour.

And she was called Josiphiah. And when he cured her, the Jews murmured against him and said, Thou art [only] Jesus, the son of Joseph the carpenter. Then Jesus turned to the rock and saw on it lizards

¹⁵ Read الامات.

rushing about, and he said to them, O wild beasts, come hither and inform this multitude who I am and whence I came and whither I go. And those lizards came with haste and did obeisance before our Lord the Christ. And the men wondered at them. And they opened their mouth and spake with an eloquent tongue like the tongues of men and said, Thou art the Christ, the Creator of the heavens and the earth; thou art the Savior of the world, as the prophets prophesied concerning thee. And the persons present wondered greatly at that, and the number of that multitude was seven thousand four hundred and eighty-two men, besides the women and the children. And they were perplexed at that and bewildered, and they said with one voice, This is the Christ, the Savior of Israel; this is the Christ sent from God the Exalted for the salvation of Israel and all the nations. And the Lord said to those lizards, Depart and return to your feeding-place, and from today there will not be any communication between you and men. And those lizards returned unto the wilderness from that time. And all who were present praised God on account of what they had seen of this admirable miracle.

The Twenty-third Miracle.

Concerning what our Lord did in the expulsion of the locusts from the land of Palestine and in Galilee and the land of Judah.

And that was that the people of Galilee and the people of Judah continued planting for four years and a half, and locusts came and fed upon it. Then the harvest approached, and there came upon the men of that country a severe calamity and a great famine, so that the more part of them died. And when they had completed four years and a half of famine, they gathered together an assembly of the children of Israel and said when among them, If this man will remove from us this affliction, come, let us go to him and tell him our case. Then they said to Nicodemus, We ask thee, O master, to go alone to Jesus the Christ, for he is thy friend, and to ask him for the sake of God to remove from us this great affliction. And Nicodemus went to him and asked him and said to him, O good Master, we know that thou art sent from God and art come into the world, and thou art the wisdom of God and his might and his power, and thou art truth. Now there has descended upon this country in which we are the affliction of anger and locusts; and be thou moved with compassion toward us in thy mercy and remove from us the anger and the impurity. And the locusts have destroyed our country and eaten our food. Now have mercy on us in thy love and forgive us in thy grace and remove from us this anger. (And the age of our Lord from the time that he was born of our lady St. Mary was twenty years, from when he was born of St. Mary.)¹⁶ And thereupon our Lord commanded those locusts to disappear on the sabbath day from that country. And the Jews and the excellent Nicodemus himself saw an angel of God who spake to our Lord the Christ. When he saw the face of our Lord,

¹⁶ The present Arabic text has been adhered to in the translation of this passage; cf. note 5.

there overspread it a light that exceeded the light of the sun seven times. And thus he saw the angel, when he smote the locusts with his wing and drove them away with his hands. And a great multitude believed in our Lord and praised God.

The Twenty-fourth Miracle.

At that time the lions from every quarter had overrun the land of Askelon, so that no one could go out of the door of his dwelling after the setting of the sun. And the people of Askelon went unto our Lord and said unto him, O good Master, God hath sent thee and we are not deserving; remove from us these ravenous lions which have overrun us and our country, for we know that they will hear thee and obey thy command. And our Lord the Christ said to them, I have had mercy on you for the abundance of your solicitation. Now return to your country and say in [any] place in which the lions gather together, Jesus the Christ commandeth you, O lions, that ye continue not nor abide in this country and that not one become corrupt in it. And the people of Askelon returned to their country and separated from them a man by the name of Nathanael who was from Cana of Galilee. And he called and said in the [manner of] wailing of the country as Jesus the Christ had commanded. And when he said that in the [manner of] wailing of the country, a great number of the lions gathered to him. And he stretched forth his hand and said to them, Depart from this country and do not abide in it and do not return to it and do not enter it, as Jesus the Christ, the Savior of the world from their sins, commandeth you; and the Christ will not disappoint you in your food, nor doth he summon you without power. And all the lions bowed their heads in that hour and did obeisance to this apostle Nathanael; and they departed from that country and returned not to it. And when the people of Askelon saw this great miracle, they believed in our Lord Jesus, [even] a great multitude, through Nathanael and praised God and glorified him.

The Twenty-fifth Miracle.

And our Lord the Christ was once in the wilderness of Jericho and his disciples the apostles were with them (*sic*). Then the evening came upon them and the sun set; and Simon Cephas said, O our Lord, the evening is near and there is in this locality no place to spend the night in. And our Lord Jesus the Christ said to him, We are in the vicinity of Jerusalem; now, O Simon, enter the city, and thou wilt find an old man with a lamb in his hand, and when thou seest him say to him, Our Master desireth to stop with thee and will enter the city. Then Simon entered the city of Jerusalem and met the man as our Lord Jesus the Christ had said to him. And Simon Cephas and the other disciples wondered greatly when they saw themselves in Jerusalem and said, This hour we were in Jericho, and how did we arrive at Jerusalem in one hour? And they lifted up their voices and praised God, to whom is not difficult any of the things that he delivered as matters to the humanity

of his Son and his Christ. Then after the entrance of the disciples into the city this man went out to his dwelling and departed to the Mount of Olives and invited our Lord the Christ to his dwelling. (And this man was Gamaliel, the brother of Nicodemus.) And when the Christ our Lord entered his dwelling and he perceived that the pillars which were in the house sweated from their fear of him, the owner of the house said, O my Lord, see the pillars, how they sweat from thy majesty and thy greatness. And the Lord the Christ said, These stones truly are tender, but the hearts of the children of Israel are dry [and] hard [and] do not become tender. And blessed is he who believeth in me and in [the] Holy Spirit, and woe is he who denieth me; for who shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in heaven, and who believeth in me before men, him will I present before my Father which is in heaven. And he abode that night and departed unto Mount Tabor, and with him Simon and James and John his brother, and he told them what should be before his coming, as it is written in the Pure Gospel.

And our Lord worked miracles until he completed thirty years. Upon that he came to John and was baptized in the River Jordan. And he was thirty years of age. Then he took disciples and began to preach and to work the great miracles. And in that year Joseph died and left behind his children, and with them our Lord the Christ and his mother Mary, in Nazareth with James and Joses and Mary their sister, concerning whom the gospel relateth that there were at the cross his mother and the sister of his mother, for Mary had no brother or sister.¹⁷ And when our Lord the Christ ascended into heaven, Simon Cephas baptized her and the virgin John the Evangelist received her. And the abiding of the lady in the world was fifty-one years, and the Lord abode on the earth about thirty-four years, and the lady abode after his ascension four years.

And we ask the Lord,¹⁸ the God incarnated from her, the doer of the many miracles, that, as he in his mercy caused Adam to live after his fall, he establish ourselves, even us fallers into sins, and assemble us with our righteous holy fathers—and may that be to us and to all believers—and that he avert from us death and chastisement and suspicion and trembling and raving and hard affliction and look upon us in beneficence and favor, and that he save us from our enemy and have mercy upon us in his mercy, for he is merciful, and look upon us and guide us into the path of perfection and nourish us into the way of moderation. And to him be the glory and the honor and the praise and the majesty now and always and unto the age of ages. Amen.

May God forgive to the miserable copier his sins and the sins of his parents; and he is the poor one, the servant of the light, Ignatius by name. He wrote this in the year seven thousand one hundred and seven of Adam (upon him be peace).

¹⁷ The apparent contradiction in this sentence disappears when we suppose that the author considered James and Joses brothers of Joseph and consequently their sister Mary only a sister-in-law of Mary the mother of Jesus.

¹⁸ A different Arabic word is used here than that previously rendered *Lord*.

THE INTERPRETATION OF GEN. 6:3.

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE RICKER BERRY, PH.D.,
Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.

The chief object of the present consideration of this verse is to offer some suggestions concerning the word יָדוֹן; what is said with reference to the remainder of the verse is really subordinate to this object.

The verb יָדוֹן is generally, if not universally, explained as the imperfect of an ע"ו verb, דוֹן, to which the meanings assigned, however, are very diverse. Of the versions, the LXX, Vulgate, Peshitto, and Onkelos render "remain, abide." It is commonly assumed that they had a different text from the Massoretic, but that is not at all certain. Of the lexicons, Ges.-Buhl¹³ adopts the same rendering "bleiben," for which, however, it can quote no better authority than the Egyptian-Arabic word *يدان*, *يدان*, which means "immerwährend etwas thun." Siegfried-Stade quote no kindred root and give as the meaning "sich erniedrigen?". Briggs-Driver-Brown put the discussion of the word under the root דָּן, but give no positive opinion, contenting themselves with stating four different views, to each of which they give some strong objection. It is presumably needless to quote the multifarious opinions of commentators.

It is surprising, however, that the unnaturalness of deriving this word from an ע"ו root has not been generally observed. Of course, the usual form of an ע"ו imperfect would be יִדוֹן. The form יָדוֹן could not strictly be a stative imperfect like יֵאָוֶר or יֵבֹשׁ, for then it would be יִדוֹן. יָבוֹא presents the same form, but יָבוֹא itself is an unusual form. The form יָדוֹן could be that of the ע"ו jussive imperfect, but that is rendered quite improbable by the occurrence of לֹא and not אַל before the word. So any explanation of יָדוֹן as an ע"ו form meets with difficulties. Add to these considerations the fact that those who regard it as a form of an ע"ו verb are unable to present any parallel root in the Arabic or elsewhere which is at all satisfactory, and it must be evident that it is not natural to consider it a form of an ע"ו verb.

It is natural, however, to consider the form to be that of an פ"ע verb דָּנָן . The only possible difficulty in form is the vowel י , fully written when it would really be tone-long. But in answer to this it may be said, first, that the same objection would hold against the common view that it is the jussive imperfect of an פ"ע verb, and, secondly, that the full writing of a tone-long vowel is sufficiently common to make an argument from it of little value.

If we grant that the root is most naturally פ"ע , the question next arises whether the root דָּנָן can be identified. The Arabic gives no root of this kind which has an appropriate meaning, the root دَن in Arabic meaning "to murmur, buzz." It is now conceded by many, however, that the Assyrian has at least as much right to be consulted in reference to Hebrew roots as the Arabic. Turning to the Assyrian, we find the root $\text{dan}\bar{\text{a}}\text{nu}$ (דָּנָן) to be one of the most common in the language, meaning "to be strong, powerful." The definition of Delitzsch (*Handwörterbuch*, p. 223) is "stark, fest, mächtig sein oder werden."

Before attempting to see how this meaning suits the context in Gen. 6:3, let us note some probable traces of the existence of the same root outside of Assyrian, aside from this passage. One such may be claimed in Hebrew. In Josh. 15:49 occurs the name of a city in the tribe of Judah, דִּנְיָ . This is obviously a noun with the feminine ending from a root דָּנָן . The derivation of this word has given much trouble, but it has commonly been assigned to a root דָּנָן . This has sometimes been explained as equivalent to Arabic دَن "to murmur, buzz," and sometimes even as equivalent to Arabic دَن , assumed to be another form of دَان "to be low." דָּנָן "to be strong" gives a very appropriate meaning for a city, especially when it is remembered that the word דִּנְיָ is in form the precise Hebrew equivalent of the Assyrian word dannatu , from root $\text{dan}\bar{\text{a}}\text{nu}$, meaning "a fortress, a fortified city."

For the occurrence of the root דָּנָן in Aramaic, reference may be made to what is said by Professor C. Levias in *AJSL*, Vol. XV, p. 191. It is there noted that the word דָּנִי , or דָּנִי , was explained by Raši from tradition as meaning "be strong." Levias identifies the root with the Assyrian $\text{dan}\bar{\text{a}}\text{nu}$.

It is now pertinent to inquire whether the meaning "to be strong, powerful" is appropriate in Gen. 6:3. I adopt in general, for the remainder of the verse, the interpretation of Dillmann in

his commentary, so that I shall not attempt to consider in detail the difficulties, but only to see whether this meaning suggested for רִיחַ is suitable in the connection. Dillmann defines רִיחַ here in language which may be rendered "the spirit of life from God given to men, 2:7, the principle of their physical and spiritual life." It is evident that Dillmann would render רִיחַ "spirit from me," regarding the suffix as equivalent to a genitive of source, which is, syntactically, altogether possible. The definition also appears to give to רִיחַ the meaning, which it has elsewhere, of the immaterial part of man, which serves to animate the physical body. The thought that the רִיחַ which man has proceeds from God is plainly in harmony with general Old Testament teaching, as it is seen explicitly in Ecc. 1:27, "and the spirit return unto God who gave it," and implied in such passages as Numb. 16:22, "O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh."

The phrase לְעֹלָם here does not necessarily mean "forever" in the modern sense. לְעֹלָם may have its more common meaning, "indefinite duration, unlimited duration," in which case לְעֹלָם would mean "for an indefinite, unlimited period."

In accordance with what has been said, I should translate freely the first part of the verse as follows: "And Jehovah said, The spirit from me shall not be powerful in mankind for an unlimited period." In what sense would the words "be powerful" be used? Naturally in reference to the usual work of the spirit of a man in animating his body. So that this part of the verse might be paraphrased, "And Jehovah said, The immaterial part of man coming from me as its source shall not for an unlimited period manifest its power in animating the bodies of men;" in other words, men shall not live for an unlimited period.

The remainder of the verse may be passed over briefly. The next clause gives the reason for this determination of Jehovah, "in their going astray they are flesh." The concluding clause, "and his days shall be a hundred and twenty years," is really an expansion of the first clause of the verse. The statement there made, man shall not live for an unlimited period, is here followed by the statement of the limit, a hundred and twenty years. This connection of thought would be the same whether the limit were understood to be the time until the flood or the future limit of individual life. I prefer to follow Dillmann in the latter view, for the reasons which he gives.

Contributed Notes.

THE ASSYRIAN WORD MAŠĀRU OR MAGARRU.

It seems now to be generally accepted as a fact that the Assyrian word for wheel of a wagon or chariot is mašāru. Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 647, and King, *First Steps in Assyrian*, p. 394, both derive the word from the verb šāru (שָׁרָה). There are two serious difficulties with this derivation. One is that šāru means "to move forward, advance," so that according to this derivation mašāru is the "means of advancing;" as Delitzsch says, "so benannt als Mittel und Werkzeug der Bewegung des Wagens." A derivation giving a more specific meaning than this would be expected. A second and more serious difficulty is that the long *a* in mašāru is *never* written as long in the examples given by Delitzsch, which fact is certainly sufficient to make the length of the vowel doubtful. These difficulties might perhaps seem to indicate that the root is מָשַׁר and the form mašaru. But the known roots of the form מָשַׁר do not give a meaning suitable to this derivation.

Under these circumstances, I am led to present a different suggestion, viz., to read, not ma-ša-ru, but ma-gar-ru. The sign ša = gar (Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 1885, p. 37, No. 323) is always found for the second syllable in the examples given by Delitzsch, so that the reading here suggested presents no difficulty. It is true that *gar* is the unusual and *ša* the usual value of ša = gar, but the value *gar* is regularly found in such a word as pa-gar. This reading was, in fact, given doubtfully by Bezold in *Sen.*, col. v, l. 83 (*KB.*, Vol. II, p. 108), his reading being ma-gar(ša?)-ru-uš, and his translation "Deichsel(?)." If the reading is magarru, the word is plainly a מַגַּר formation from garāru (גָּרָר) "to run," the form being מַגַּר. The formation would be perfectly regular from an עָרַע root, being precisely like mašallu "herdsman's tent," Delitzsch, *Grammar*, § 63, end, and *Handwörterbuch*, p. 567. In favor of this derivation, it may be urged that the difficulties previously mentioned in connection with mašāru disappear, and, more positively, that the meaning suggested by the derivation is a very natural one, "that which runs," which makes it quite similar to the Hebrew גָּלְגַל (and גָּלְגַל) "a wheel, that which rolls," the words גָּלְגַל and garāru probably being akin (see Ges.-Buhl¹⁸, p. 162, under גָּרָר). An even closer parallel in meaning would be Hebr. רֶץ "wheel," from רָץ "to run," if we are to follow Ges.-Buhl¹⁸ in giving that meaning to the word. Perhaps a stronger argument for the reading magarru is

the evidence from another word similar in form. In *HEBRAICA*, Vol. XI, p. 190, I discussed the word *mu-gir-ri*, occurring in R^m 2, 6, rev. 14, deriving it from *garâru*. I would modify the view there expressed so far as to give to the word the meaning "wheel" instead of "chariot." I would still consider it to be probably a formation *مُغَرِّل* with the common change of *a* to *e* and then to *i* (see Delitzsch, *Grammar*, § 34, δ). It would then be merely another form of the word *magarru*, just as we find the two words *mânû* and *mânû* "couch," Delitzsch, *Grammar*, § 65, 31b, and *Handwörterbuch*, p. 98.

GEORGE R. BERRY.

COLGATE UNIVERSITY,
Hamilton, N. Y.

A NOTE ON ISAIAH 8:6.

What does the prophet mean by *מִי הַשִּׁלּוֹחַ*, the waters of Shiloah? Mitchell says: "It is here a symbol of the unseen and mysterious, but real and efficient presence." Duhm: "This water is a symbol of the reign and power of the Dweller of the mountain . . . of Yahweh." The same interpretation is given by Dillmann. But the following two objections may be raised to it: First, "the waters of Shiloah that go softly" is an unusual and even unnatural representation of Yahweh. We surely do not find many more such images of Israel's God given us by the Old Testament seers and singers. "And the Lebanon will fall by a mighty one" is one of the mildest expressions of the prophet's idea of the God in whose name he speaks. "Yahweh roars from Zion . . ."—this is a typical representation of him. But "the slow waters of Shiloah that go softly"—where can we find its parallel?

Secondly, would Isaiah bring Yahweh into contrast with Rezin and Remaliah's son? For, no matter what we make of *מִשְׁרֵשׁ*, whether it mean to rejoice in, or to fear, the "waters of Shiloah" evidently stands in contrast to Rezin and ben-R'malyahu.

Now, I think that *רִצְיִן* is the word that must throw some light on this obscure passage. It seems to me the prophet has advisedly grouped together *מִי הַשִּׁלּוֹחַ*, *רִצְיִן*, and *מִי הַנְּדָר* of vs. 7. There is here a play on the word *רִצְיִן*, an allusion to its meaning, at least to the meaning of the like-sounding Hebrew root *רָץ* "to run." Its meaning would then be "the running, the swiftly flowing (stream)." In Gesenius' Dictionary, s. v., Löw calls attention to the Syriac *رِزْ* "to be wet," in *رِزْل* = "rivulet." If used by the prophet in such a sense, the contrast between "the waters of Siloam" and Rezin becomes clear. Rezin and Remaliah's son stand for a certain aggressive policy, namely, that of throwing off the Assyrian yoke. Hence, the "Siloam waters" stands for the opposite policy of quiet submission, of maintaining the *status quo*. The prophet arraigns the people for despising the gently flowing waters of Siloam and rejoicing in the "swift stream." *הָעָם הַזֶּה* is here evidently the mass of the Jewish people, represented chiefly by Israel, but probably having confederates in Judah also. This faction is glad of

this show of vigorous resistance to the great power of the north on the part of the two allied kings. The mass of the people rejoice at the sight of the headlong rush and impetuous course of Rezin and Remaliah's son. (The latter, we must remember, was a rebel and usurper.) They look forward to eventful times, times full of excitement. But if that is what they wish, God will bring upon them "the great and mighty stream of the north" that will so completely overflow the land as to pass even into Judah, and there to reach to the very neck, almost drowning them all. There will thus be enough excitement for them. This explanation renders unnecessary the very unsatisfactory emendation of מִסֹּחַ = "fear" instead of מִשׁוּחַ = "rejoice in."

S. N. DEINARD.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

MUHAMMEDS LEHRE VON DER OFFENBARUNG.

ERWIDERUNG AN HERRN PROFESSOR DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

Wie ich aus der Besprechung meines Werks, *Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung, quellenmässig untersucht* (Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1898), in THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES, April 1899, ersehe, sagt dasselbe dem Geschmack des Rezensenten, Herrn Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, nicht zu, was um so mehr mein Befremden erregt, als sich mein Buch sowohl in der Gelehrtenwelt als auch in weiteren Kreisen des gebildeten Publikums einer sehr günstigen Aufnahme und beifälligen Beurteilung erfreut. Da der Herr Rezensent an manchen Stellen meine Intentionen nicht versteht und ihm hierüber eine Aufklärung meinerseits erwünscht sein dürfte, so erlaube ich mir, indem ich auch auf andere Punkte seiner Besprechung eingehen will, Nachstehendes zu erwidern.

Der Herr Rezensent scheint meinem „judgment“ nur deshalb, weil es mit dem seinigen nicht übereinstimmt, die Berechtigung abgesprochen zu haben. Er sollte aber wissen, dass in der Wissenschaft jede Ansicht gilt, für die man einen plausibeln Grund beibringen kann, was ich genügend gethan zu haben glaube. Ich wenigstens schätze und achte jede andere Ansicht und bin jederzeit bereit, sie zu acceptieren, sobald ich mich von ihrer Richtigkeit überzeugt habe, was ich von den Anschauungen des Herrn Professor Macdonald nicht immer behaupten kann. Im übrigen bin ich gewohnt, meine Meinung ganz offen und unmissverständlich zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Ich erfreue mich eines noch jugendlichen Alters und gehöre also nicht, wie der Herr Rezensent schreibt, zu einer „past“, sondern einer gegenwärtigen Generation in der deutschen Gelehrsamkeit. Der Herr Rezensent irrt, wenn er glaubt, dass das zuweilen von mir gebrauchte „wir“ die erste Person der Kanzel ist; denn ich bin nicht, wie der Herr Rezensent angiebt, ein lutherischer Pastor und Prediger. Ich habe mich nur, um nicht mein liebes Ich in den Vordergrund zu drängen, aus Bescheidenheit in dem Ausdruck „wir“ mit meinen Gesinnungsgenossen und den Lesern meines Buchs zusammengefasst.

Ich habe mich bemüht, die einschlägige in- und ausländische Litteratur möglichst vollständig anzugeben, und hierbei auch die sekundäre berücksichtigt. Ich glaube, wie dies auch der Herr Rezensent anerkennt, hierin einen Vorzug meines Buchs erblicken zu können, zumal sich anderwärts entweder gar keine oder meistens nur sehr dürftige Litteraturangaben finden. Warum sollten sich Voltaire, Turpin, Washington Irving, Ockley und andere über Muhammed und den Islam nicht auch ein Urteil bilden können? Ausserdem wer interessierte sich nicht für Voltaire? Bei den Litteraturangaben versteht es sich ganz von selbst, dass der Titel, die Anzahl der Bände, sowie Ort und Jahr des Erscheinens möglichst genau angeführt werden müssen; denn sonst sind Litteraturangaben für die dem behandelten Gegenstand fern stehenden Leser, welche sich einige der citierten Werke verschaffen und sich darin weiter orientieren wollen, überhaupt wertlos. Dass ich diese Angaben auch bei Freytags Lexikon gemacht habe, darüber möge sich der Herr Rezensent nur beruhigen.

Der Herr Rezensent scheint von mir zu verlangen, dass ich in wissenschaftlicher Hinsicht unfehlbar sein soll. Ich weiss nicht, ob Herr Professor Macdonald dies von sich selber behaupten kann. Wenn man einen Fehler findet, so verbessert man ihn ruhig, ohne viel Aufhebens davon zu machen. Eine andere Übersetzung als die von mir S. 36 gegebene „Erleichterung“ für den grammatischen Ausdruck تَخْفِيف ist im Deutschen nicht möglich. Gemeint ist natürlich die Erleichterung der Aussprache durch Auslassung eines Vokals, wodurch in diesem Falle „kudus“ zu „kuds“ wird. Jene Sentenz des Baidāwī habe ich deshalb angeführt, weil sie mir zur Sache zu gehören und in den Zusammenhang ganz gut zu passen schien. Bei dem Ausdruck „rūḥu 'l-kudusi“ habe ich das syrische رُوحُ الْكُذْسِي in Fussnote gesetzt, um darauf hinzuweisen, dass Muhammed diesen Ausdruck aus der Sprache der christlichen Syrer herübergenommen hat. Ebenso handelt es sich auch bei den übrigen im Verlauf meiner Untersuchung vorkommenden syrischen, äthiopischen und hebräischen Citaten um Lehnwörter oder sprachliche beziehungsweise sachliche Parallelen. Fleischer in seiner Textausgabe des Baidāwī hätte zuweilen von der Vokalisation reichlicher Gebrauch machen und andere über die von ihm angenommene Lesart nicht in Ungewissheit lassen sollen. Dass نَام den gesunden Schlaf, وَسَن den leichten Schlummer bezeichnen soll, bedarf erst noch des näheren Beweises. Wenn sich der Ausdruck „Muhammedaner“ als Bezeichnung der Muslime, wie der Herr Rezensent mitteilt, bei späteren arabischen Schriftstellern findet, so ist dies kein Beweis gegen meine Behauptung, dass derselbe von den Occidentalen gebildet ist, da es immerhin möglich ist, dass jene arabischen Schriftsteller diese Bildung von den Occidentalen entlehnt und ihr nur eine arabische Form gegeben haben. Aber wenn der Herr Rezensent die betreffenden arabischen Autoren nicht namhaft macht, wird sich in dieser Frage keine sichere Entscheidung treffen

lassen. Dass meine Arbeit auf guter Sprach- und Sachkenntnis beruht, was ich weiter unten anführen werde, ist mir von einem Fachgelehrten bezeugt, der für mich jedenfalls kompetenter ist als Herr Professor Macdonald.

Dass der Titel meines Buchs, wie der Herr Rezensent behauptet, „much too narrow“ sei, davon vermag mich derselbe nicht zu überzeugen. In einer Darstellung der Offenbarungslehre Muhammeds braucht, um zur Sache zu gehören, nicht jeder Satz den Ausdruck „Offenbarung“ zu enthalten. Allerdings ist der Koran für meine Untersuchung die wichtigste Quelle, aber nicht die einzige, so dass gerade der von dem Herrn Rezensenten vorgeschlagene Titel „Qur'anic theology“ viel zu eng wäre. Indem ich „Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung“ zum Gegenstand meiner Untersuchung gewählt habe, habe ich von Muhammeds Lehre gerade denjenigen Teil behandelt, welcher für das Verständnis und die Beurteilung von Muhammeds Person und des Islam von der grössten Wichtigkeit ist. Von der Darstellung ausgeschlossen blieben auf dieser Weise Muhammeds ethische, kultische, soziale Verordnungen u. dgl., von welchen nur, wo es der Zusammenhang erforderte, einige in aller Kürze berührt worden sind.

Der Umfang meiner „reading“ im Arabischen entzieht sich vollständig der Kenntnis des Herrn Rezensenten, so dass ihm ein Urteil hierüber nicht zusteht.

Wenn der Herr Rezensent die Frage aufwirft, „what style has to do with a doctrine of revelation“, so erwidere ich, dass ich Muhammeds Lehre auch hinsichtlich der Form darstellen wollte, in die er den Inhalt seiner Lehre gefasst hat, und dass ich aus diesem Grunde auch auf den Stil und die sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten seiner Offenbarungsschrift, des Koran, eingegangen bin.

S. 106-18 versuche ich, den von den meisten Erklärern behaupteten Widerspruch in Muhammeds Lehre zwischen Prädestination und Willensfreiheit zu Gunsten letzterer zu lösen. Dem Herrn Rezensenten dürfte es schwerlich gelingen, mich in diesem Punkte zu widerlegen. Diese Frage ist zu schwierig, als dass sie sich mit ein paar aus dem Zusammenhang gerissenen Sätzen entscheiden liesse.

Auf den jüdischen und christlichen Einfluss bei Muhammed weise ich im Verlauf meiner ganzen Darstellung hin.

Wiewohl ich mich bei allen vier Kapiteln, in die der Inhalt meines Buchs zerfällt, der Dreiteilung bediene, so erhebt der Herr Rezensent doch bei dem dritten Kapitel, betitelt „Der Glaubensinhalt der Offenbarung“, welches ebenfalls in drei Paragraphen zerfällt (§ 7 Die Gottesvorstellung, § 8 Verhältnis zum Heidentum und zu christlichen Dogmen, § 9 Eschatologie), die wunderliche Frage: „Is this systematic division into threes a trinitarian protest on the part of Dr. Pautz, as the Spanish monks drank in three sips?“ Wie kann man überhaupt nur auf eine solche Idee kommen! Für derartige Witze dürfte eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift wohl nicht der geeignete Ort sein. Im übrigen darf man wohl annehmen, dass Herr Macdonald als Professor der christlichen

Theologie ebenfalls an das christliche Dogma von der Trinität glaubt. Meine Untersuchung über Muhammeds Gottesidee soll gar nicht, wie dies der Herr Rezensent wünscht, philosophisch sein, sondern theologisch; ich dachte, dass meine Entwicklung auch hier an Klarheit nichts zu wünschen übriglässt. Wenn der Herr Rezensent die „lists of terms and their occurrences“ sowie vorher die „study of the different expressions in the Qur'ān used to indicate this revelation on its different sides“ excellent nennt, so ist dies für mich sehr erfreulich.

Der von dem Herrn Rezensenten für meine Ausführungen S. 220–37 gebrauchte Ausdruck „little preliminary matter“ ist völlig unzutreffend; dem hier behandelten Gegenstand habe ich durchaus die ihm nach seiner Wichtigkeit zukommende Ausführlichkeit zu teil werden lassen. (Der „preliminary matter“ ist von mir bereits in der Einleitung S. 1–12 erledigt.) Die Zusammenstellung der sachlichen Abweichungen der koranischen von den biblischen Prophetengeschichten S. 238–56 soll nicht nur dem Zweck dienen, um bei Muhammed die Unmöglichkeit der Benutzung einer schriftlichen Quelle darzuthun, sondern auch, um die originelle, zuweilen auf eine bestimmte Tendenz Muhammeds zurückzuführende Fassung der koranischen Prophetengeschichten zu beleuchten. Den hierzu von mir gebrauchten Raum halte ich keineswegs für unverhältnismässig gross.

Die Behauptung des Herrn Rezensenten: „Dr. Pautz himself seems to have had difficulty in bringing into it the points which he wished to discuss“ ist den Thatsachen nicht entsprechend; denn wenn auch der Gegenstand meiner Untersuchung ein mühevoller und schwieriger war, so hat mir doch die Einteilung und Gruppierung des Stoffes keinerlei Schwierigkeiten bereitet.

Im Schluss, in welchem ich den Islam nach seinen Licht- und Schattenseiten einer kurzen Kritik unterziehe, komme ich auch auf die Polygamie zu sprechen. Der betreffende Satz, S. 286, Anm. 2, welchen der Herr Rezensent nur unvollständig anführt, lautet folgendermassen: „Dass das muhammedanische Institut der Polygamie, wonach es gesetzlich erlaubt ist, nach Massgabe der Vermögensverhältnisse bis zu vier Frauen und daneben noch eine unbeschränkte Zahl von Sklavinnen zu halten (Sûre 4, 3), wiewohl hierin für uns Christen gewiss etwas Anstössiges liegt, mit der Frage nach der Moral überhaupt nichts zu schaffen hat, braucht wohl kaum bemerkt zu werden.“ Um jedes Missverständnis auszuschliessen, will ich meine Stellungnahme zu dieser Frage genau präzisieren. Vom rein natürlichen Standpunkt betrachtet, ist die Polygamie nach dem Satze „naturalia non sunt turpia“ an und für sich nicht unmoralisch, ausgenommen wenn sie durch ein religiöses und staatliches Gesetz verboten ist. Denn sonst müsste man auch die alttestamentlichen Patriarchen Abraham und Jakob sowie den König Salomo (welcher nach I Reg. 11, 3 siebenhundert Frauen und dreihundert Kebsweiber besass) unmoralisch nennen. Da nun die Religion des Islam ihren Bekennern die Polygamie gestattet, so vermag ich, wenn jemand von diesem legalen Rechte Gebrauch macht (thatsächlich geschieht dies nur in sehr seltenen

Fällen), hierin eine unsittliche Handlungsweise nicht zu erblicken. Dagegen wäre im Christentum, welches die Vielweiberei verbietet, diese selbstverständlich unsittlich und sündhaft. Doch darf man in diesem Punkte nicht falsch generalisieren.

Im Anschluss hieran habe ich einen kulturhistorischen Vergleich zwischen der muhammedanischen und christlichen Frauenwelt angestellt. Ich glaube, hier eine sehr gesunde und vernünftige Ansicht zu vertreten; auch ist mir aus den Kreisen der Leser meines Buchs ausser von Herrn Professor Macdonald keine gegenteilige Äusserung zugegangen. Nicht das sind die besten Frauen, die sich in der Öffentlichkeit breit machen, und die man auf allen öffentlichen Vergnügungen und Lustbarkeiten sieht, sondern die man am wenigsten sieht, und von denen man am wenigsten spricht. Das öffentliche Leben gehört dem Manne. Das Haus und die Familie ist der Wirkungskreis der Frau, hier hat sie zu wirken und zu schaffen. Der Sitte der Muhammedanerinnen, sich in der Öffentlichkeit zu verschleiern, gebührt meiner Ansicht nach mit Recht der Vorzug gegenüber den die körperlichen Reize entblössenden und häufig nur auf die Sinnlichkeit berechneten Kleidertrachten der Christinnen; man denke nur an die Balltoiletten, wo man zuweilen den Eindruck hat, als ob man sich auf einem Fleischmarkt befände. Im übrigen können sich die Christinnen, deren Sittlichkeit schon allein im Hinblick auf die Prostitution und die vielen unehelichen Geburten in einem traurigen Lichte erscheint, an dem moralischen Lebenswandel ihrer muhammedanischen Schwestern ein Beispiel nehmen. Unsere Gymnasien und Universitäten sind nach ihrer historischen Entwicklung Bildungsstätten für Jünglinge und Männer und nicht für „Backfische“. Es giebt einen natürlichen Unterschied in der Begabung des Mannes und der Frau, indem bei dem Manne der Verstand mehr entwickelt ist, bei der Frau das Gemüt. Diesen Unterschied gilt es auch in der Erziehung und im Unterricht zu beobachten; andernfalls erzielt man weibliche Karikaturen.

Das Verzeichnis der transkribierten arabischen Wörter S. 291–4 steht zugleich an Stelle eines kurzen Sachregisters.

Da es den Lesern gewiss erwünscht sein wird, ausser den Ansichten des Herrn Professor Macdonald noch andere Gutachten über mein Buch zu hören, so seien nachstehende mitgeteilt. *Kölnisch Volkszeitung (Litterarische Beilage)*, Köln am Rhein, den 17. August 1898: „Das Interesse des Dogmatikers und Exegeten, vor allem aber auch das Interesse des Historikers verdient eine eindringende, quellenmässige Studie von Otto Pautz, *Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung*. Man hat bislang in den Werken über Muhammeds Leben und Lehre das theologische Moment viel zu wenig hervorgehoben. Dem hilft Pautz nunmehr ab.“ — *Blätter für litterarische Unterhaltung*, Leipzig 1898, Nr. 40: „Gegenüber den grösseren Werken über Muhammed kann diese übersichtliche und völlig allgemein verständlich gehaltene Darstellung, welche mit dem behandelten Problem zugleich den wesentlichsten Kern des Islam überhaupt untersucht, allen wissbegierigen Lesern nur

empfohlen werden.“— *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, Jahrgang I, Nr. 12, Berlin 1898: „Vorliegende religionsgeschichtlich-theologische Studie basiert auf guter Sprach- und Sachkenntnis. Es ist vor allem anzuerkennen, dass der Verfasser als überzeugungstreuer protestantischer Theologe doch ohne alle dogmatische Voreingenommenheit sich redlich bemüht, *sine ira et studio* den Propheten von Mekka und die arabische Weltreligion nach ihrem innersten Wesen und wahren Wert zu würdigen. Bei diesem ausgesprochenen Sinn für objektive, gerechte, kritische Beurteilung Muhammeds und seiner Lehre kann das stattliche, schön ausgestattete Buch auch weiteren Kreisen, vor allem natürlich den Theologen bestens empfohlen werden, zumal da allen arabischen Quellencitaten die Übersetzung beigegeben ist und besonders auch auf die vielfache Abhängigkeit Muhammeds von jüdischen und christlichen Lehrsätzen hingewiesen wird.“— *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, Wien 1899, Nr. 2, Beilage: „Wer immer sich ein selbständiges Urteil über den geschichtlichen Werdegang und über das Wesen des Islams bilden will, findet in dem Buche ein reiches und übersichtliches Material nebst einem genauen philologisch-kritischen Apparat zur Verwertung.“— *Beilage zur allgemeinen Zeitung*, München 1899, Nr. 41: „Immerhin schwankt Muhammeds Charakterbild noch in der Geschichte, und so ist es ein ganz dankenswerter Versuch eines neueren Forschers, durch sorgfältige Untersuchung eines wesentlichen Teiles seiner Lehre die Richtung und den Zweck seines öffentlichen Auftretens überhaupt zu bestimmen. Es ist dies das Werk von Dr. Otto Pautz, *Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung*. Die auf genauester Quellenforschung beruhende Darstellung kann in ihren allgemeinen Ausführungen übrigens auch weiteren Kreisen dringend empfohlen werden.“— *Theologische Rundschau*, Jahrgang II, Heft 3, Freiburg i. B. 1899: „Eine gründliche und lehrreiche Arbeit ist die Schrift von Pautz, *Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung*. Den Theologen wird an diesem Buch besonders die weite und freie Art der Auffassung der Persönlichkeit Muhammeds interessieren, die um so bemerkenswerter und wohlthuender ist, als der Verfasser seine eigene durchaus positive Stellung zum Christentum mit aller Energie betont. Der Verfasser sieht einerseits genau die Schwächen und Flecken in Muhammeds Charakter und weiss dieselben mit feiner Psychologie verständlich zu machen und zu beurteilen; aber auf der andern Seite ist er—meines Erachtens mit Recht—überzeugt, dass in Muhammed ein Stück prophetischen göttlichen Geistes wirksam war und nicht vergebens wirksam gewesen ist. Für den Theologen und Religionshistoriker ist ferner das Buch Pautz's auch deshalb bemerkenswert, weil es reiches Material zur Beurteilung der Frage vom Verhältnis Muhammeds und seiner Predigt zum Christentum und Judentum bringt. Noch klarer als bisher wird es namentlich nach den Zusammenstellungen Pautz's, dass das Christentum und Judentum, das Muhammed kannte, durchaus heterodoxe, synkretistische Bildungen waren, und dass eine umfassende Kenntnis jener Religionsbildungen im Osten und Südosten Palästinas notwendig ist zur richtigen Erkenntnis der Genesis des

Muhammedanismus. Wir wollen dem Verfasser dankbar sein, dass er uns von seiner Seite das Material so schön zubereitet hat. Andere mögen weiter arbeiten.“— *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland*, Leipzig 1899, Nr. 21: „Die gesamte Litteratur älterer und neuerer Zeit ist dem Verfasser wohlbekannt, auch die arabischen Quellenwerke werden gebührend berücksichtigt. Ausführliche Indices erleichtern die Benutzung des Werkes. Der Verfasser steht voll und ganz auf dem Boden des kirchlichen Offenbarungsbegriffes. Um so mehr ist anzuerkennen, dass er der einer gesetzlichen Stufe entsprechenden Sittlichkeit der islamischen Gesellschaft volle Gerechtigkeit widerfahren lässt und nicht wie gewisse kurzsichtige Apologeten der Sache des herrschenden Kirchentums damit zu dienen glaubt, dass er den Islam als in sittlicher Auflösung begriffen schildert.“— *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, Berlin 1899, Nr. 21: „Der Verfasser hat den umfangreichen Stoff übersichtlich angeordnet, und da er für jede Materie fast sämtliche in Betracht kommenden Stellen excerpiert hat, so bildet sein Buch auch für den Fachmann ein ausserordentlich nützliches und bei dem Mangel derartiger Hilfsbücher doppelt erwünschtes Repertorium.“— *The Expository Times*, Edinburgh 1899, Nr. 9: „This important and learned work . . . combines in a remarkable degree the enthusiasm of the expert with the caution of the sound and sagacious critic.“— *La Cultura*, Roma 1899, Nr. 11: „Il libro del Pautz è specialmente utile . . . l'edizione per carta e nitidezza di tipi è bellissima.“

Schliesslich möchte ich die Leser, welche sich für den von mir behandelten Gegenstand interessieren, höflichst bitten, sich durch die Lektüre meines Buchs über dessen Wert selber ein Urteil zu bilden und hiernach zu entscheiden, ob das Urteil des Herrn Professor Macdonald über mein Buch berechtigt ist oder nicht.

DR. OTTO PAUTZ.

RATZEBUHR (POMMERN), DEUTSCHLAND.

Book Notices.

KRENGEL'S DAS HAUSGERÄT IN DER MIŠNAH.¹

The work comprises six chapters: (1) Tables (pp. 1-9)—practically only dining-tables, including stands, servers, etc.; (2) Seats ("Sitzmöbel," pp. 10-17); (3) Beds (pp. 18-31), including sedans; (4) Receptacles ("Behälter," pp. 32-54), including cupboards, chests, baskets, jars, etc.; (5) Mirrors (p. 55); (6) Lighting Apparatus (pp. 56-65); pp. 66-68 contain a list of the Hebrew and Aramaic words. The author has based his description of the different articles upon the notices referring to them in the Mišnah and other rabbinical literature, including, among others, the two Talmuds and the Midrash Rabbót and Pesikta as commentaries on the Mišnah. As the two Talmuds, however, cannot be regarded as commentaries on the Mišnah in the same sense as the commentaries of Hai, Maimonides, etc., and the Midrash Rabbót and Pesikta not in any sense, the title is quite inexact. The author was evidently not aware that Professor Georg Hoffmann in his article, "Lexikalisches," III (*ZATW.*, II, 1882, pp. 53 *sqq.*) had treated of the bedstead and bridal chair. Hoffmann established clearly in this article, with numerous examples, the different meanings of מִלְכָּן as Krengel gives them (p. 20, note 5), with the difference, however, that according to him מִלְכָּן is not "every brick-shaped board" as well as "other similarly formed objects," but "the periphery of a rectangular figure" (see Hoffmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 64 *sqq.*). While the sifting and arranging of such scattered and difficult material shows great diligence and will be valuable for all future investigations in the same line, it is to be regretted that the author, for the sake of clearness, did not oftener let the sources speak for themselves. The most serious objection to be raised against the book, however, is that the author not infrequently makes statements which have no basis whatever in the sources, so that his results cannot be accepted without examination. In order to prove this serious charge, it is necessary to extend this review beyond the limits which this dissertation really deserves. The sources say nothing, *e. g.*, about the structure of the דִּלְפָּקִי overlaid with marble, or of the אֲמִדְרִיטִין; that the legs of the former represented figures of animals is not mentioned. Similarly the sources offer no basis for the distinction Krengel makes in regard to the shape of chairs, according as they were made of wood, clay, etc. (p. 11). The most serious instance of misinterpretation of the sources is the author's explanation of מִלְכָּן of the עֵרִיסָה on the basis of T. Kel. B. M., viii, 4, and T. Ohol.,

¹ DAS HAUSGERÄT IN DER MIŠNAH. Von Dr. Johann Krengel. I. Teil. Frankfurt, a. M.: J. Kauffmann, 1890. ii + 68 pp.; 8vo. M. 2.50.

xiii, 5 (p. 27). I refer again to Hoffmann's article, which offers for the passages in question a translation and explanation correct save for a few minor details (*ibid.*, pp. 59 *sq.*). I need only mention here that everything in the passages in question goes to support Hoffmann's explanation (pp. 56 *sqq.*) of מַלְבֵּן שֶׁל מִטָּה or שֶׁל עֵרִיסָה (Krengel's inference, that in the second passage only the עֵרִיסָה is spoken of, is incorrect) as the two short and two long pieces of the bed-frame joined to form a rectangle. It must be noticed, also, that the sources from which Krengel has drawn in regard to the massive tables, etc., of gold are, without exception, humorous religious anecdotes, characterized throughout by the most extreme exaggeration. (In regard to the golden table in the temple, p. 2, note 5, *cf.* Exod. 25:23 *sq.*, etc.) I shall only mention further that the author understood חֲמִיץ מֵיין (Hos. 7:5) to mean leather-bag [filled] with wine (p. 47, note 5). M. BUTTENWIESER.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE,
Cincinnati, O.

WRIGHT'S ARABIC GRAMMAR.¹

It must be confessed that this book is a great disappointment. I do not mean that it is not a good and useful book—a simple reprint of the second edition would have been that, and much more this enlarged and corrected third edition—but the pity is that it is not a great deal better and more useful. We had waited long for “the new edition of Wright,” as we called it fondly, but the new edition which we looked for was something different from this. It was well known that Wright was preparing for a revision on an extensive plan and had collected much material from Sibawayhi and other sources. If he had lived, there can be little doubt that we would have had almost a new work, just as the first edition was completely transformed in passing into the second. In that revision the first volume gained almost one hundred pages and the second more than one hundred and fifty. In this edition each volume has lost more than thirty pages, against which, however, must be reckoned greater compression in printing and space gained by suppressing the sections on comparative Semitic.

But even in its second edition the book was not abreast of what might have been expected of a scholar like Wright and demanded in a grammar that was to be the constant companion of all the Arabists of Europe. I cannot express those requirements better than by quoting some passages from August Müller's review of the second edition in the *ZDMG.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 200–216: “Die längst anerkannte Vorzüge von Caspari's Arbeit noch einmal hervorzuheben darf ich unterlassen; einer

¹ A GRAMMAR OF THE ARABIC LANGUAGE. Translated from the German of Caspari, and edited, with numerous additions and corrections, by W. Wright, LL.D., late Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Third edition, revised by W. Robertson Smith, late Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, and M. J. de Goeje, Professor of Arabic in the University of Leyden. Cambridge: *At the University Press*, 1896 (and Vol. II, 1898). xiv+317 and xx+450 pp.

der grössten Fehler derselben scheint mir die Systemlosigkeit der Elementar- und Formenlehre, und, was damit zusammenhängt, der gänzliche Mangel einer Lautlehre, zu sein. Ich bezweifle keinen Augenblick, dass Wright, hätte er nicht gewissermassen an die ursprüngliche Anordnung des Stoffes sich gebunden gefühlt, zum Vortheile des Lesers die Sache ganz anders angegriffen hätte. Jetzt erscheinen als rein äusserlich durch die Grenzen der einzelnen grammatischen Abschnitte zusammengehalten Haufen von Einzelheiten, welche auch nur durch fortgesetzte Verweisungen mit einander zu verknüpfen fast unmöglich, ausserdem aber unzureichend ist." After a number of examples of this, August Müller continues: "Ein anderer Mangel von Caspari's Arbeit ist der, dass in Folge der oft zu äusserlichen Anordnung des Stoffes manche Punkte, die in seinem Schema keine selbständige Stelle erhielten, entweder in beiläufige, oft zu sparsame Erwähnungen zersplittert wurden und dabei gelegentlich an Orte gerieten, wo man sie nicht sucht, oder ganz und gar wegblichen. Grade hier leidet das neue Werk gelegentlich durch den engen Anschluss an seinen Vorgänger, von welchem es sich sonst so glücklich entfernt." Examples again follow, and then he goes on: "In der That wäre sie [his above-expressed wishes] mit einer gänzlichen Umarbeitung des Buches in Bezug auf Anordnung und vielfach auch Darstellung des Materials gleichbedeutend; trotzdem kann ich nicht umhin ihm für diesen erwünschten Fall zwei weitere Bitten vorzutragen, weil sie mir beide als Consequenzen des von ihm selbst gewollten erscheinen." The first of these requests is that there should be prefixed to the grammar a short introduction dealing with the position of Arabic among the other Semitic languages, its history and its dialects, and how it has borne itself toward foreign influences and been affected by them. The second request is that more attention should be paid to the later, post-classical, forms and usages.

Such are the requirements which August Müller expressed more than twenty years ago; they are the requirements which were before the present editors. No one can doubt their justice. How have they been met? The arrangement of the book remains absolutely the same as Wright left it. A phonology is still conspicuous by its absence. Wright's method of handling phonetic questions is practically untouched, though some of the particular passages criticised by Müller have been slightly changed. In general, this, the weakest side of the grammar, is unaltered. An attempt has been made to obviate the lack of system by the introduction of numerous cross-references and the extension of the indexes. The sections on comparative Semitic are almost all cut away, and in their place are references to Wright's *Comparative Grammar*, which is certainly his weakest book; this is one way of meeting Müller's petition for a more scientific treatment of this subject and for a general introduction to it. To Müller's second request no further attention, so far as I have noticed, has been paid.

At this point the question may pertinently come up of the exact place which this grammar is intended to fill. We can have a grammar that is

purely introductory—meant for the beginner—to be abandoned after a certain stage has been passed. In this class come Socin's golden little book and Harder's *Konversations-Grammatik*. Then come the grammars which are not introductory, but are permanent books of reference. Here there are several sub-classes. We have books of moderate compass, not professing absolute completeness, which have grown up often out of books of our first class. Such, for example, is Caspari-Müller. At the opposite extreme to these are books which aim at the explanatory reproduction of the views of the native grammarians. Such are Jahn's annotated translation of Sibawayhi and Howell's gigantic application to grammar of Lane's lexicographical method. Last there comes the class of *thesauri*, attempts at covering the whole ground with more or less completeness. An early and important place is taken here by the unfinished work of Lumsden; later come the grammars of Ewald and Kosegarten; but the crowning place is easily taken by the *Grammaire arabe* of de Sacy, with the running commentary of Fleischer. That Wright's grammar stands in this sub-class of *thesauri* can hardly be denied. It had been our hope that the new edition would make it the leading book in the class and render us independent of the others; that in it the fullness of de Sacy-Fleischer would be combined with an order foreign to both, with a recognition of the forms and usages of mediæval Arabic, on which they would have looked down, but which we find to be essential, and with a scientific treatment of the phonology of the language which was impossible in their time. Such an undertaking would have been worthy of the Press of the University of Cambridge and of the great scholars whose names stand on this title-page; but the hope has been disappointed, and that is all that can be said about it. The blame it is impossible to place. It may have been the publishers; it may have been the editors. This, at least, it is but fair to say: when the editorial charge passed into the hands of Professor de Goeje, fifty-six pages had been printed, and the revision had extended over thirty pages more. He, not unnaturally, felt himself compelled to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor. The fame of the great Leyden Arabist cannot suffer through this book, but it would have been better for Arabic letters if he had insisted on the work being begun anew from the beginning.

I come now to details, and, as might be expected, what I have to set forth is not so much sins of commission as sins of omission and oversight. Professor de Goeje is one of the first three or four Arabists in Europe, and, if I may be excused the slang, what he says goes. In Vol. II, p. 180C, the statement, "But if both are substantives, this is not usually done," is too strong. Compare Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik*, § 48, and the quotation there from al-Khafāji. Similarly, the expression, Vol. II, p. 59B, "The second is not uncommon," is somewhat unguarded in view of Nöldeke's "äusserst selten" in *Zur Grammatik*, § 61a. One most curious omission is the lack of all reference to Nöldeke's discovery of *waw conversive* in Arabic, *Zur Grammatik*, p. 68; at least I have been unable to find any mention of it. In II, 176D, the translation should be

“like lance-thrusts” or “like lance-thrusting.” The footnote to II, 114, is too brief, and should have an exact reference. In I, 11A, it would have been much better if, instead of simply expunging the sentence to which Nöldeke objected, his remarks had been incorporated from *ZDMG.*, Vol. XXX, p. 207; the usage which could lead Wright astray surely deserved some notice. In the *Addenda* to I, 115, footnote, there should have been a reference to Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik*, p. 18. In I, 286B, the notice of فقط is very inadequate; nor do I find it further dealt with in the *Syntax*. In II, 149C, the technical term للاختصاص should be rather translated “to show that one is specially characterized or distinguished by a thing or by the possession of a thing.” Further, the technical terms لا لاستغراف الجنس and ال للاستغراف might have been added with advantage. The term اسم مصدر occurs in the index, but I can find no definition of it, and its nature can only be vaguely gathered from two or three references; yet those words form a very interesting class. Many of the references are perplexing and annoying. An omission that is purely amusing is the dropping out of Wright’s dedication to Fleischer, while the paragraph in the preface speaking of that dedication is carefully reprinted. But are we to gather from the exact references by volume and page to the *Fā’iq* of az-Zamakhsharī that we may look for an edition of it soon? That would be a cause of rejoicing. It is to be presumed that the references to a glossary to aṭ-Ṭabarī are to be interpreted in the same way. But it may be doubted whether in a grammar it is right to refer the student for the explanation of a point, or even for further details on a point, to some other book; references *from* books of reference are not satisfying, and there are many here which should have been quotations. A point I would gladly have seen dealt with is the nature in Arabic, and in Semitic generally, of the *waṣf* or *na’t*. It is true that no grammar, to my knowledge, except Lumsden’s, touches upon it, but it is none the less a vital point in the language, as Lumsden has shown, and a source of great obscurity to the student till simple experience makes the facts clear to him. In this grammar the only suggestion of the truth is *descriptive epithet* on p. 105A; but as that follows immediately upon the misleading term *nomen adjectivum*, the gain is not great. To return to the recognition, or rather non-recognition, of post-classical usages, it would have been greatly to the advantage of the grammar if more account had been taken of August Müller’s *Ueber Text und Sprachgebrauch von Ibn Abī Uṣeibi’a’s Geschichte der Aerzte in the Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. u. histor. Classe der k. bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1884, Heft V. In some respects these notes apply also to classical usage, as that on the introduction of the *ḥabar* by *fa*, p. 922 of Müller; compare, too, the quotations in that passage and Lane, p. 2323a. Similarly, I have found nothing to explain the *fa* in Qur’ān, LXXIV, 3 (Müller in *ZDMG.*, Vol. XXX, p. 204), and the ellipsis of conjunctions is not adequately noticed in II, 288 (Müller, *Ueber Text*, p. 900, and especially footnote on the possibility of the second perfect being a

hāl). In general, the use of both *wa* and *fa* calls for much fuller treatment; in later Arabic such phrases as *وعلى هذا* *ف* and *هذا و* are very frequent. Similarly, the use of the expressions *ان نعم* and *نعم لو* by way of *استدراك*, *it is true*, might have been explained. Further, the frequent omission in later Arabic of *min* in the phrase *لا بد من* is not recognized (Müller, p. 903); II, 26D, on the omission of *'an* is hardly adequate (Müller, p. 902); II, 302, could be expanded, following Müller, p. 918; and II, 225, could be expanded and corrected by Müller, p. 920.

But if we can overcome our disappointment and take this book on its own terms as a simple reprint of the second edition, with some expansions and corrections, we must receive it with gratitude as an excellent piece of work. The external form is well-nigh perfect, as is also the proof-reading; the Arabic type is from the beautiful and clear font cut for Lane's use in his dictionary; there are sixty pages of excellent indexes, though the third might be fuller; finally, Professor de Goeje has put all Arabists deep in his debt by his additions and corrections. But would that those responsible had taken a larger view of their duty!

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD

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SOME CONTRACTS OF THE PERSIAN PERIOD FROM
THE KH' COLLECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
PENNSYLVANIA. ✓

BY GEORGE A. BARTON, PH.D.,
Associate Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages,
Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

The texts which are here published were copied during the summers of 1895 and 1896. They belong to the Kh' collection, which was purchased in the East some years ago for the University of Pennsylvania. It was obtained from the same source as the Kh collection, of which a notice was published in the *HEBRAICA*, Vol. VI, pp. 59, 60, by Professor Robert F. Harper.

Of the thirty-four texts here presented, two are from the reign of Cambyses,¹ twenty-seven from the reign of Darius, one from the reign of Xerxes (*i. e.*, No. 30; *cf.* rev., ll. 5 and 11), and four from the reign of Artaxerxes. The texts are arranged below in chronological order.

Most of these texts are simple records of the loan of money or the transfer of food-stuffs. No. 2 is a contract to deliver considerable meat, dates, wheat, and an ibex at a private house in Babylon; it appears to be the provision for a large festival. No. 5 is a receipt for a sheep, purchased for a sacrifice. An interesting series (Nos. 7, 8, 11, 13, 16, 19, 22, 25, 26, 28, and 29) refers to the transactions of a woman, Aquba, the daughter

¹ The sign *si* (No. 2, l. 17) is the only part of the name legible, but the palaeography is that of the contracts of the reign of Cambyses.

of a slave, who dealt in provisions in the town of Shibtu, and who seems to have been in comfortable circumstances. She loans money, contracts with farmers for produce, loans clean wheat, to be paid in kind, and barter wheat for dates. These transactions extend through eight years. No. 8 refers to the loan of two-thirds of a shekel of money. It states that the sum is to be paid in a certain coin, but the tablet is illegible where the denomination of the coin was given. The amount of the loan makes the half-shekel coin impossible; it follows that the coin must have been the *še*, of which 180 made a shekel.² No. 10 records the gift of sacrifices to the temple of Shamash by a guild of carpenters. No. 16 is a contract on the part of a woman to deliver at a certain date a coat of mail. No. 24 is the lease of a house with a cracked wall, in which is embodied a stipulation for repairs.³ No. 30, though much broken, is of great interest. It records the dissolution of the partnership of a company of herdsmen in the reign of Xerxes and the formation of another company. No. 31 is the merest memorandum of a loan, written in evident haste, without witnesses. No. 32 stipulates that after a certain date the rent of a house belonging to two brothers shall be devoted to a certain temple; that a certain man shall receive it from the agent of the owners and carry it to the temple, and another person who is designated shall receive it on behalf of the temple. No. 33 is a much-broken deed of sale of some property, the boundaries of which were carefully given. The tablet was only sun-dried and has been badly broken. No. 18 was carelessly written and contains several mistakes. For lack of space a list of the proper names contained in these tablets is not now given. It is hoped that it may be published in a future number of the JOURNAL. The Museum numbers of these tablets are as follows:

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² Cf. Reissner, *Sitzungsberichte Ak. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1896, pp. 417 sqq.

³ Cf. Strassmaier's *Inschriften von Nabonidos*, Nos. 9, 43, 184, etc.

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[illegible]

River

x. sic!

29.

29.

A GRAMMAR OF THE ARAMAIC IDIOM CONTAINED IN THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD.¹

BY PROFESSOR C. LEVIAS,
Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.

III. MORPHOLOGY.²

§ 871. ע"ע : טלולא , אטלולא , *sport*.

§ 872. a) גנבתא *stolen goods*; שבועתא *oath*;
שמיעתא *tradition*.

b) With secondary doubling: חנוכתא ; חנוכתא ; פלוגתא
difference of opinion; קדושתא ; and perhaps אספקתא .

§ 873. ע"ע : Plur. קצוציתא .

§ 874. ע"י : תדיבתא .

§ 875. לו"י : נביתא ; plur. מדויאתא *protests*; שביתא *cap-*
tives.

II. INTERNAL VOWEL CHANGE WITH SHARPENING OF SECOND STEM-CONSONANT.

1. Two Short VowELS.

§ 876. שבתא *Sabbath, week*;³ אדר *threshing-floor*.⁴

§ 877. a) יבשתא *dry land*; סכנתא *danger*; תקנתא
institution, statute; שמתא *ban* (שמת = שמת); פרשתא *chapter*,
C. MS. Meg. 4a (voc.).⁵

b) איפרתא *letter*; נחמתא *consolation*; סיעתא *help*; שבשעתא
mistake, C. MS. Pes. 112b (voc.).

§ 878. לו"י : מלייתא *complement*.

¹See *AJSL.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 21-78, 118-89, 177-208; Vol. XIV, pp. 17-37, 106-23, 195-206,
252-66; Vol. XV, pp. 224-43.

²*Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 80, 118, 177; Vol. XIV, pp. 17, 106, 195, 252; Vol. XV, p. 224.

³שבתא, like קר and Targumic בירנן, plur. of ברתא = ברש = ברש, are due to the ת
being mistaken for the feminine ending.

⁴On אפרתא, אפרתא, cf. Schwally, *Idioticon*, p. 114.

⁵Cf. שמיעתא TG., ed. Harkavy, § 1.

⁶Some of these forms may be originally *qattālat*.

quttal.—§ 887. אִדְמָא dark, black;¹ סִדְמָא red; cf. מִשְׁקֵי red chalk; קִדְמָא, קִדְמָא, fennel flower (?);² רִדְמָא softening; שִׁדְמָא cat.

quttalat.—§ 888. a) אִדְמָתָא, אִדְמָתָא, dark, black; סִדְמָתָא; שִׁדְמָתָא.

qattil.—§ 889. These are all sharpened forms of *qatil* and *qatil*.

a) חֲכִימָא wise; חֲרִיפָא sharp; יִתְרָא superfluous; צְדִיקָא; רִשְׁיָא; חֲקִיפָא powerful.—זְבִילָא basket.

b) אִילִימָא strong (= אִלִימָא).

§ 890. חֲמִימָא : עֵץ warm; עֲזִיזָא strong; קְשִׁישָא old.

§ 891. לִיָּי : בְּרִי certain; סְגִי great, much.

qattilat.—§ 892. אִלִימָתָא; יִתְרָתָא; פְּרִיצָתָא dissolute; שְׁבִישָתָא confused.

qattal.—§ 893. a) חֲבִישָא a kind of apple; חֲלֹנָא sinus; חֲרוּבָא carob; עֲמֻדָא column; שְׂפִירָא broach.

b) חֲלֹנָא = חֲלֹנָא; טִיבִירָא = טִיבִירָא; חֲזִירָא.

qattalat.—§ 894. חֲרוּשָתָא witchcraft.

חֲבִירָא : אִסְוִירָא; בְּשִׁוִלָא; בְּדִוְפָא blaspheming; צְבִירָא congregation.³

§ 896. יִסְוִירָא : סִוְרָא suffering; יִתְרָא superfluity.

§ 897. עֵץ : גִּידְוִדָא steep embankment; חֲוִלָא wedding feast.

§ 898. עֵרִי : חֲוִלָא ugliness; חֲזִיקָא exactness; קִידְוִדָא, קִידְוִדָא, tartness, VL., Pes. 116a.

§ 899. לִיָּי : כְּסִוִיָא cover; רְבִיָא; שְׁנִיָא change.

חֲבִירָא : חֲבִירָא drop; חֲבִירָא seal.

§ 901. עֵרִי : חֲבִירָא proselyte.

III. PREFORMATIVES.

א.—§ 902. The א may represent merely a prothetic vowel, as in אֶצְבַּעֲתָא finger, אֶמְצַע midst, or may be a formative element. We are concerned here only with the latter.

¹ Cf. عَكْس be dark (night); Assy. ekkim u oppressor. On the connection between oppression and darkness cf. ظَلَمَ and § 863, n. 4; also Delitzsch, Assy. Heb., s. v. אָבָן פֶּשֶׁק, דָּבָן, דָּאָם, אִשָּׁם, אָכָל.

² Cf. קִדְמִיָּה TG., ed. Harkavy, § 352 (voc.).

³ רִדְמָתָא רִדְמָתָא ibid., § 377.

§ 914. מִשְׁרָא, מִשְׁרָא, *fan*; מִשְׁרָא, *garden-bed*, מִשְׁרָא. The Assy. *masārū*, *mašārū* (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wb.*, s. v. *מִשְׁרָא*) is probably a loan-word.—מִשְׁרָא *needle*.

§ 915. מִשְׁרָא *alum*; מִשְׁרָא *drink*.
maq̄talat.—§ 916. מִשְׁכִּילָתָא, מִשְׁכִּילָתָא, *basket*; מִשְׁכִּילָתָא, *east*, Pes. 111b; מִכְבַּנְתָּא = Eth. *kanbalō*, that which Arab. خَلَال, African *kelāl*, a wooden peg to fix the hair, a hair-pin.

§ 917. מִשְׁפָּתָא *discharge*; מִתְנָתָא *gift*.

§ 918. מִגְרִיתָא *strigil*; מִטְלָתָא.

b) מִטְלָתָא, מִטְלָתָא, *booth*; מִטְרָתָא *cave*.

§ 919. מִנְרָתָא *candlestick*.

§ 920. מִשְׁרִיתָא *camp*; מִשְׁתִּיתָא *drink*; מִתְיָתָא.

muq̄tal.—§ 921. מוֹרְדִיָּא, מוֹרְדִיָּא, *pole to propel a boat*.

maq̄til.—§ 922. a) מִלְבָּנָא *scissors*; מִרְזָבָא *gutter*.

b) מִסְרִיקָא *comb*; מִרְזִיקָא *sneak-thief*.

§ 923. מוֹעֲדָא *fire-place*.

§ 924. מִנִּפָּא *fan*.

maq̄tilat.—§ 925. מִסְפָּרָא *scissors*.

§ 926. מִגְלָתָא *treatise*.

§ 927. מִדִּינָתָא *college* (יתב = חוב).

maq̄tul(at).—§ 928. מְהוֹרָא *peddler*; מִשְׁמוֹטָא *sneak-thief*; מִשְׁתִּיקָא *silence*.—מִיחוּשׁ *pain*; מִדִּינָתָא.

maq̄tal.—§ 929. מִכְחָלָא *ferry* (עבר); מִשְׁרָבָא *west*; מִסְאָנָא (= מִסְאָנָא) *shoe*.

§ 930. מוֹדְעָא *declaration*.

§ 931. מִקְבָּא *reality*.

§ 932. מִמְשָׁא *reality*.

§ 933. מִזוֹנָא *food*; מִחוּזָא *city*.

§ 934. מִצִּירָא *quarrelsome person*.

maq̄talat.—§ 935. מִכְחָלָא.

¹ Cf. the interesting remarks of Rabinowicz in *VL.*, Meg. 18a, n. 1. Cf. also המסדרונות I, No. 930.

² Cf. מִשְׁרָאָא *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 330; מִתְנָתָא, *ibid.*, § 74.

³ The form is due to the influence of קְטוֹלָא. To the same influence is due مَاجُوج (§ 846). On the "tyranny" of this form in modern Arabic cf. Vollers, *SDMG.*, I, 637.

⁴ Does this stand for מִצִּירָא with interchange of labials?

§ 936. פֶּן : plur. מִשְׁאֲרָתָא *safes*.

§ 937. לוֹרִי : מִטְהָאָתָא *hip, loin*; מִקְצָתָא *part, some*; מוֹמְתָא *oath*.

miqṭal.—§ 938. מִדְרָשָׁא *study*; מִנְהָגָא *custom*.¹

muqṭal.—§ 939. מוֹסְפָא. A Hebrew loan-word.

maqṭil.—§ 940. מַאֲדִים *Mars*; מוֹרִיקָא *crocus*; מִזִּיקָא *evil spirit*.

maqattalat.—§ 941. מַחְוֹרָתָא; מִשְׁבִּשְׁתָּא; מִתְקַנְתָּא; מַחְרָצָתָא.

maqattil.—§ 942. מִרוֹחָמָא *friend*; מִשְׁוֹרָא *rover*.

maqattul.—§ 943. מַדְבֹּרָא, *cf. Kohut, s. v.*; מַבֹּרָא *ferry-man* (= *מַעְבֹּרָא).

maqātal.—§ 944. מִסּוֹבְלָא, מִסְאֲבָלָא, *load*.

maqātil(at).—§ 945. מְדוֹבְרָא; מִסּוֹבִיחָא *bar-maid*.

mattaqṭalat.—§ 946. מַתּוֹכִילָתָא, מַתְכִּילָתָא, *eatables* (√אכל).

נ.—§ 947. נִכְחָמָא *cover*; נִיקְשָׁא *spoiled leavened substance*.

צ.—§ 948. צְלוּלִיבָא (§ 77).

ש.—§ 949. שִׁיזְבָּתָא *delivery*; שְׁלִפְוִדָא *bladder*;² שְׁעִבְוִדָא *subjection, slavery*; plur. שְׁבִירֵי *rays*.

ח.—§ 950. taqtilat: תּוֹסְפָתָא *addition*.

tiqtil(at): תִּיאֲנָתָא *fig-tree*.—תִּיתִירָא (= תִּיתוֹרָא) *VL., Men. 35 a. Cf. تيم*.

taqtul(at): תִּסְפִּירָתָא, תִּסְפֵּרָתָא or תִּסְפָּרָתָא, *hair-cutting*; תִּיתוֹרָא *bridge* (§ 44).

taqtal: תּוֹתְבָא *dress*; תַּנְרָא *merchant* (§ 50); תַּרְבָּצָא, *Assyr. tarbaṣu yard*.

taqtīl(at): תַּלְמִידָא *pupil*,³ תַּבְשִׁילָא *dish*; תַּפְשִׁידָא; תַּפְתִּידָא; תַּשְׁמִישָׁתָא *use*.

taqtūl: תַּלְמִידָא; תַּרְגִּימָא.

IV. AFFIRMATIVES.

רִי.—§ 951. When a *nomen agentis* is to be derived from an اسم جَامِد it may be formed as any similar noun of the form كَطْلَان, *e. g.*, סְפִינָא *skipper*; תַּנּוֹרָא *stove-maker*; עֲמֹרָאִי *dealers*

¹ מִנְהָגָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 67.

² √נשח; *cf. Hoffmann, LCB.*, 1882, p. 320. But see Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, ed. 12, s. v. נשח.

³ *Cf. on this word, Meissner, ZA.*, IX, 272sq. *Cf. also the proper name תַּנּוֹלִיקָא, pudibundus.*

in wool. If the *اسم جامد* is itself of that form, an adjective ending is added, e. g., פְּתוּרָא *table* gives a form פְּתוּרָאָה *money-changer* = שְׂוִלְחָנִי. But, in most cases, to the given form is added the ending וִי, which is nothing but the final syllable of לִי forms of קְטוּלָא, leaving the original form of the word as much as possible unaltered. Thus, אֶהְלוּיָא *dealer in אֶהְלוֹא Kali*; אֶזְלוּיָא, 'אִי, *dealer in אֶזְלוֹא 'אִי, spun yarn*; אֶיְמְרוּיָא *dealer in אֶיְמְרִי lambs*, VL., B. B. 22a; נֶפְטוּיָא *dealer in נֶפְטָא naphtha*; עֶמְרוּיָא *dealer in עֶמְרָא wool*, Alf. B. B. 22a; צֶדְרוּיָא *dealer in צֶדְרִי (Assyr. ġudûru) fine garments*; קְשָׁתוּיָא *archer, one that handles a קְשָׁתָא bow*. The same principle is applied to מִבְרָא *ferry*, giving מִבְרוּיָא *ferryman*, A. Z. 65b (Raši, *ibid.* אֶבְרוּיָא¹), for עֲבוּרָא would mean something else.²

ִי, *ai*.—§ 952. The ending *ai* occurs in a limited number of nouns whose gender can rarely be determined from present data: אֶמְרוּיָא, Assyr. amurrû, *west*; כִּרְכִּיָא, Assyr. kurkû, *crane*; נְדוּנִיָא, Assyr. nudunnû, *dowry*; תּוּבָלִיָא, Assyr. tubalû, *rope*; דְּנִיָא *inference*; חֲבִילָא *interest*; כְּנִיפָא or כְּנִיפִיָא *assembly*; מְדוּכָא *pestle*; סְרִסְיָא *servant*. A few other nouns occur with or without this ending: אֶסְקְרִיָא and אֶסְקְרָתָא *sail-yard*, שִׁמְנָא³; אֶשְׁפָּחָא and אֶשְׁפָּחִיָא *swelling*; דְּבוּרָא and דְּבוּרִיָא *bee*; מְזָא and מְזִיָא *hair*; מִסְתָּא and מִסְתִּיָא *sufficiency*; שִׁיפּוּצָא and שִׁיפּוּצִיָא *repairing*.—אֶרְעִי, עֶרְאִי, *chance*, is Palestinian.⁴

ai.—§ 953. This ending serves to derive relative adjectives, appellative nouns, and gentilic adjectives from substantives, adjectives, and proper nouns. The masculine has mostly the forms אֶיָּא, אֶהָא (at times contracted to אֶיָּא),⁵ אֶיָּיָא, אֶיָּיָא; the feminine, אֶיָּיָא, אֶיָּיָא, אֶיָּיָא. The masculine אֶיָּא is rare.

¹ Cf. מְרִחְשָׁן = Assyr. arabsamnu; אֶרְסָא = Tna. marsi *poison*; מְזוּלִיָּהוּ = Assyr. amurrû, VL., Pes. 40a; מְנָא = Eth. manana (§ 886).

² In later literature we find an affirmative וי attached to proper names, as אֶיְשָׁרִי, מְשָׁרִי, which is of Persian origin. Cf. about this termination Noldeke, *Pers. Studien*, I, 4 sq.; Poznański, *REJ.*, XXXIV, 161 sq.; Steinschneider's *Hebr. Bibl. Hogr.*, IV, 20, 153.

³ For אֶסְקְרִיָא we find also the form קְרָאָא, קְרָאָא. R. Nissim, *המפתח*, 3a, 1gg. *Sertrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 14. This is the Hebr. קְרָשׁ (Ex. 27:6). The word goes back to رَشَق be slender, رَشَق vibrate, with various transpositions.

⁴ אֶרְעִי, מְרִיָּא. TG., ed. Harkavy, index.

⁵ Cf. § 83.

י.—*an, on (an), in (en), an (?)*.—§ 958. These affirmatives are used :

1. To form from verbal stems infinitives ; as צוֹרוֹחַנָּא *to cry*, VL., Ber. 20a; לְנַסְיֵיהֶוּדָא *to prove them*, Yalq. Kings 199 = Sanh. 101b. From this develop the following classes :

a) Abstract nouns ; as מִנְיָנָא *number*; פְּרִיעָתָא *retribution, punishment*.

b) Adjectives ; as דִּלְפְּנָא *blear-eyed*.

c) Nomina agentis with the sense of habitual action, occupation, etc. ; as בְּזִלְתָּא *robber*. This class is the most common.

d) Concrete nouns ; as שְׁקִיָּיָא *liquid*.

2. To change participles into appellatives, denoting habitual action ; as מְדַבְּרָא *leader*.

3. To change concrete nouns into

a) adjectives and appellative nouns denoting the possessor of that which is denoted by the noun, with a magnifying sense ; as שִׁינֵּינָא *having large teeth*; בִּישְׁרָנָא *fleshy*;

b) adjectives possessing the quality of the noun ; as חוֹלְעָנָא *crimson*;

c) another noun with a metaphorical expression ; as מַעֲיָנָא *body, properly containing bowels*.

4. To change a proper noun into an adjective denoting relation to that noun ; as קִיסְרָנָא *Cæsarean*.

5. To change an adjective into a noun ; as הִדְחָנָא *something new*.

6. To strengthen adverbs and demonstr. pronouns ; as לְקַמֵּן, תַּמֵּן, דִּתֵּן.

an.—§ 959. a) qatl: גִּנְחָנָא *goring*; עֲבָרִיָּנָא *transgressor*; דִּקְנָא, דִּיִּקְנָא, דִּקְסָנָא, דִּקְסָנָא, דִּקְסָנָא = טִיִּיִּדָאן *arrogant*, passing into לִי *exact*, VL., Men. 29b; רִיחָנָא *fragrant*; עֵיִינָא *large-eyed*; מוֹחָנָא *pestilence*; אִימְרָנָא; אִחוּנָא; אִחוּנָא (تری = اری) *station*; אִימְרָנָא, with prothetic vowel, or Aph'el? בִּגְנָא *potsherd*, cf. *scale*, חֲסִפָּא and חֲסִפְיָתָא (§ 963, note).

b) qatlal: רִיחָתָא *fragrant*.

c) qitl: אִסְתָּן *north*; פִּירְסָנָא *acquisition*; מִצְרָנָא *boundary*; אִילָנָא *tree*; חֲלִינָא *second*.

d) qutl: עִילְבָּנָא *insult*; רִפְמָנָא *pomegranate*; פִּלָּךְ *surplus*; סוּגְיָנָא, סוּגְיָנָא, *twig*.

e) qutlat: סוּגְיָתָא *twig*.

f) qatal: **הִדְחָנָא** *something new*, VL., B. B. 90b; **בּוֹצֵלָנָא**; **הִיָּקְנָנָא** *bearded*.

g) qatalat: **עֵינֵיחָנָא** *modest*.

h) qatil: **שִׁלְמָנָא** *virtuous*; **רִבְנָא**; **רִיקָנָא** *empty*; **עֵדָנָא** *time* (= *ua'idānā*).¹

i) qital: **מַעֲיָנָא** *body*.

j) qatil: **מַרְנָא** *master, lord*.

k) q^{et}al: **אַרְרִין** *a kind of sword, properly something made of metal*.²

l) q^{et}il: **אַרְרִין** *id.*³ By-form **אַרְרִין** (§ 36) = *Kafa arijo sword, dirk*.

m) qattil: **קַבְלָנָא** *possessor of tradition*; **רַחֲמָנָא** *merciful*.

n) 'aqtal: **אִוְרִין** *teaching, knowledge*.

o) tuqtul: **תּוֹרְגְמָנָא** *interpreter*.

p) maqattil: **מַלְפָּנָא** *teacher*; **מַדְבָּרָנָא** *leader*.

q) maqtal: **מַעֲלָנָא** *entrance*; **מַפְסָנָא** *exit*.

r) maqtal: **מּוֹרִין** *teacher*.

s) maqtul: **מַצּוֹרָנָא** *quarrelsome man*.

t) mataqtal: **מַתּוֹרְגְמָנָא** *interpreter*.⁴

u) qautal: **תּוֹלְעָנָא** *crimson*.

v) qalqal: **קַרְקָפָנָא** *big-head*.

w) qalqil: **זִלְזָלָנָא** *intemperate*.

x) qulqul: **קִירְקָבָן**, Assy. *quqqubānu, crawl*.⁵ **שׁוּמְשָׁמָנָא**, *ant*.

on, un.—§ 960. a) qat(i)l: **אַבְשׁוּנָא** *parched corn* (✓ **אַבְשׁ** = *יבש*); **אַלְיוּנָא** *thumb*; **בַּרְיוּנָא**, Assy. *barānu, outlaw, rebel* (✓ **בַּרְא** = ✓ *מרא*); **הַבְּרוּנָא** *current*.⁶ **אַרְבּוּנָא** *defective sight*.⁷

¹ Intervocalic *ṣ* is weakened to *š* in **הַדְחָנָא** *now*.

² Eth. 'arar *lead, tin*; Tigre 'arar *lead, tin*, 'arar *steel*, 'arar *bullet* (lead or iron)

غَار *point of lance, edge of sword*, **غَر** *metal bell*, **أَرَر** *pen, originally stylus*, TR., I, 31

³ All words of this form in the emphatic state are traditionally pronounced with *š* before *ṣ*; as **אַבְרִשָׁנָא**, **בְּחִילָנָא**, **קִישִׁישָׁנָא**, **אַפְרִינָא**. This is evidently due to the retrogression of the accent.

⁴ The *u*-vowel is due to the following consonants as well as to the infinitive form sub o. Cf. Pal. Aram. **קִישִׁישָׁנָא**.

⁵ **קַרְקָבָי** HG. 522.

⁶ **בְּעִרְוָנָא** Igg. *Sertrā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 28, n. 10 = Pal. Syr. **حَصَم**.

⁷ Bilin 'arab *blind*.

b) qit(ta)l: בְּדִיחָא disgrace; עִוְרוּתָא blindness; צִבְעָנִין colored garments.

c) qutl: דְּרָבוּנֵי goad-bearers; but more correctly דְּרָבוּנָא.

d) qattal: חֶלְזוֹנָא snail.¹

in.—§ 961. a) qatl: אַחֲרִינָא, אַחֲרִינְתָא, contracted to אַחֲרִיתָא, אַחֲרִיתִי, ² another; הַדְרִינְתָא swindler; רֹזֶה-בֹּשֶׁת rose-bush; פֶּרְשֵׁי-בֶן ? horse-bean; צַפְדִּינָא tooth-ache.—סִכִּינָא knife.—זָקִינָא swollen; plur. בּוֹצִינֵי young pumpkins, C. MS., Meg. 12ab (voc.); אַחֲרִינָא = אַחֲרֹנָא kindling-wood; קָרִינָא, جَرَّال, Assy. karānu, wine.³—פַּרְצִינָא (= parṣinda = parṣinta).⁴

b) qutl: הַיִּרְסִינָא acquisition; חַבִּינָא happy; קֹדֶפֶת hole; שׁוּרְפִינָא, שׁוּר, سُرَّو, Alg. Arab. سُرَّو, Assy. šurmēnu, cypress.

c) maqattil: מְרַבֵּינָא educator.

d) qalqal: שׁוֹשְׁבֵינָא bridegroom's friend, שׁוֹשְׁבֵינְתָא brides-maid, Assy. susabīnu; cf. شَيْبَانِ god-father, شَيْبَانָ god-mother (√ שבב = شبن, § 858).

ר.—§ 962. עֵבְרָא mouse.⁵

DOUBLE AFFIRMATIVES.

§ 963. With the exception of the few examples given below, double affirmatives occur only with the feminine ending.

¹ This word denotes five different species. Cf. Epstein, *Beth Talmud*, V, 200 sq.

² This must not be confounded with Hebr. אַחֲרִירִית, which is of a different formation. For אִירָא after י confer אִירָא.

³ כִּרִם = כִּר, whence also kīr, qīr, groves. For a similar phenomenon, where מ is retained in the cognate languages, while having become ʾ in Assyrian, cf. חֲמִיז = du'usu.

⁴ √ فرص kernel, fruit-stone, is that which is cut out. Of the same origin is probably the ד in Hebr. סִרְקָד and רִקְסוֹדוֹת. The last word Gesenius' *Thesaurus* connects, probably correctly, with مَث. For the variety of sibilants cf. Yemen Arab. رَمَص, Eth. rames; for interchange of מ and פ cf. حَمْطَا = حَمْطَا = طرمس = طرفس. But these words may be loan-words from Kushitic, where the feminine ending ad instead of at is common.

⁵ √ عكب be thick-set. The mouse is frequently called by a name denoting this quality and is, therefore, frequently synonymous with muscle. Cf. رَكِين, Arm, solid, رَكِين mouse; عَصَلَة muscle, عَصَل field-mouse, فَار muscle, mouse; hence medieval Hebr. עֵבְרָא muscle. The same connection between muscle and mouse is found in some Indo-European languages. Cf. Kluge, s. v. Maus.

a) anī: פִּלְנִיָּה; נִמְלִיָּתָה *large-sized*; דִּבְשָׁנִיתָה *honey-like*; חֲסִפְנִיתָה *scurf*, scaly appearance of the skin.¹

b) inī: מְחִינִיתָה *indication*; פִּילִינִיתָה = פִּילְנִיתָה *anemone*; plur. כִּלְנִיתָה TG., ed. Harkavy, § 352 (voc.).

c) anū: עֲנוּתָה *modesty, meekness*; רִבְרָנִיתָה *greatness*.

d) inū: פְּרִיעִינִיתָה *fruit-stone*.

e) anai: plur. דִּרְבָּנָי *goat-bearers*.

f) inai: יְרִינָה *skilled in calendation*.

g) aiū: אֲרִמִּיתָה *paganism*; תִּלְמִיתָה *something furrow-like*.

h) A few words are pronounced with שׁוֹא before נ, e. g., מְחִינָה *one from Māhōza*. Whether originally so?

V. DIPHTHONGIZED FORMS.

1. DIPHTHONG IN THE FIRST SYLLABLE AND SHORT VOWEL IN THE SECOND.

§ 964. a) qantal: מִזְרָנָה *threshing-sledge*; תִּזְחָלָה = דֹּחַלָה; פִּזְנָתָה *mule*; תִּזְלָתָה, תִּזְלָה, *worm*.

b) qaital: דִּישָׁרָה = דֹּשָׁרָה.

2. DIPHTHONG IN THE FIRST SYLLABLE AND LONG VOWEL IN THE SECOND.

§ 965. a) qantal: שׁוֹפָרָה; שׁוֹתָפָה (§ 23c).

b) qantil: מִזְרִינָה; מִזְרִיקָה.

c) qaitil: [פִּיִּלִּיל Zeb. 118b; proper noun?]²

d) qaital: סִיבִּירָה *cupping*; שׁוֹפָרָה = שׁוֹפָרָה.

3. DIPHTHONG IN THE SECOND SYLLABLE.

qutail.—§ 966. אִזְיָלָה *gazelle*; עִילִימָה *youth, young man*; plur. עִילִימִי, and with disregard of grammatical form, עִילִימִי, Zeb. 116b and Raši *ad loc*.

NOTE.—There are some words which are spelled like those above, but probably do not belong here; e. g., אִזְרִינָה = אִזְרִינָה.

¹ חֲסִפָּה = חֲסִפָּה = חֲסִפָּה *scratch, peel, etc.* Hence חֲרִשָּׁה = חֲרִשָּׁה = חֲרִשָּׁה *scale*, חֲסִפָּה *potsherd*, properly *chipping*, חֲשִׁיפָּה *worn-out garment*, whose nap is scratched off. Assy. haqbu is loan-word. Similar development: בָּגָה, בָּגָה, *scale*, פִּזְנָה *potsherd*; חֲרִשָּׁה, חֲרִשָּׁה, *scurf, potsherd*, חֲרִישָּׁה *fine linen*, whose nap is gone. Cf. also Hebr. dict. s. v. קִשְׁקִשָּׁה.

שְׁדִּילָה = שְׁדִּילָה.

rice; רוּמִיחָא = רוּמִיחָא *speer*; בוּמִיחָא (§ 866). The second vowel in the first two is probably a helping vowel to ease the collocation of difficult sounds. Cf. a similar helping vowel in אַבְדִּיחָא, עַבְדִּיחָא (§ 833, n. 1). Similar formations in Hebrew and Palestinian Aramaic, belonging to various forms, are: שוּמִירָה, בוּדִידָה; כוּדִיבָא, זוּנִידָה, דוּחִינָא. Pal. Syr. مَصْب, مَصْب, حَمَص, etc.

VI. REDUPLICATED FORMS.

qalqal and similar forms.—§ 967. אִרְרָא *net*, Assy. hūbaru;¹ אִסְפָּחָא *lucern*, shortened to אִסְפָּחָא (VL., Sanh. 74b, 93a, Yalqut Dan. 1060) = فِصَّة, فِصْفَصَة; פִּרְפִּיחָא, פִּרְפִּיחָא, *clod*, shortened to פִּרְפִּיחָא VL., Succā 26a; cf. Eth. g^aagg^eeg and Maltese ġrix; דִּשָּׁא *door, gate*, Amharic daḡ, Eth. dede; דִּדְבָא, דִּדְבָא, *fly*; דִּקְדָּחָא *tow*; plur. דִּקְדָּחִי *young children*, נִדְדָּחִי; טָאטִיחָא, טָאטִיחָא, *broom*; פִּרְכָּא *star*; תַּלְתָּא *talent*; לִילָא *night*, SM. No. xxv (voc.); מִינָא *mint* (= נַעֲמָא); אָאָא, אָאָא = شَعَاع (§ 794a); סוּסָא *horse*, Eg. Arab. سَيْسِي *pony*; צִילְצִלָא, צִילְצִלָא, צִילְצִלָא, *turtle-dove*; קִילְקִלָא, קִילְקִלָא, קִילְקִלָא, *heap of refuse*, Tña. qulqulet *declivity*; קִנְקִנָא *jar*; קִקְרָא (= קַעֲקֵא) *throat*; קִרְקִפָּחָא *head*;⁴ שִׁשְׁלָא, שִׁשְׁלָא, *chain*.

¹ Cf. § 77.

² Cf. מִסְפָּחָא (Lów, *Aram. PN.*, p. 96). The מ became א through ו (cf. وقمر = مَقْمُور = Eth. qāzēma *hymn*, Tigre qonne = fanfane), or it was mistaken for the Egyptian article and dropped (cf. Vollers, *ZDMG.*, L, 617, 654). The fact that اسپست makes sense in Persian need not prove more its Persian origin than our "sparrow-grass" the English origin of "asparagus." فِصْفَصَة is a transposition of صَفْصَفَة, etymologically the same as Hebr. צַפְצַפָּה, whose verbal stem is found in Eth. safafa *abound*. סִסָּה *reed* may also belong here.

³ Halévy compares קִילְקִלָא with Assy. kigallu *lowland* (cf. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, s. v.).

⁴ فکر = ذَكَر. For interchange of ذ and ف cf. قَف = قَد = قَد. The primitive meaning was evidently *hollow out*; hence the correlative *be convex*. This explains all the derivatives of the root. The first meaning appears in קִפָּה, קִפָּה, *basket*; קִפְרָא, קִפְרָא, *hole of the axe*; קִד, מִקְדָּה, *pot, bowl*; the second, in קִפְרָא *cupola*, קִפְרָא, *stony hill*, קִפְרָא *occiput*, whence the denominative קִפְרָא *be behind, follow*, קִפְרָא = קִפְרָא *head*, קִד, Assy. qaqqadu; קִד = קִד, *elevation*, קִד = קִד *ascend a mountain*, קִד = קִד *high top*; Tña. qerqerti *occiput* = *qedqedti (§ 36).

hose;¹ יִרְנָקָא or יִרְנָקָא *wine flavored with herbs*; סְבִינָא *load, burden*, *VL.*, R. H. 28b; סְרִינְיָ (√ שָׂרַף); פִּישְׁקָנְצָא = פִּשְׁקָנְצָא (§ 980).

ס, ש. — § 980. אֶסְיָנָא (= אֶסְנָא); חֲלִיקוֹסְתָא, חֲלִיקוֹסְתָא, חֲלִיקוֹסְתָא = סְלִיקוֹסְתָא; סְרִיקוֹסְתָא = סְרִיקוֹסְתָא *comb*; קְלִיבִּי־סְתָא *hip-bone*; אֶשְׁכָּפָא (§ 46); פִּשְׁקָנְצָא *she-raven* (فقس, فقس), literally *the egg-breaking bird*; ? פְּרוֹמְשָׂא *service-tree*.² Cf. כְּמוֹס *fig-tree*, but Dozy has כְּרוֹס!

ר. — § 981. אֶרְזִילָא, אֶרְזִילָא, *hammock* (√ עָזַל); אֶרְזִילָא *gazelle*; גְּרִדוֹפָא *stump*; בְּרִמִּיָּא *cubit*; דִּרְבָּשָׂא *couch, bed*, Eth. med qas; הֲרִי־יָרִי *scabs*; טַרְפָּשָׂא ? פְּרִבְלָתָא = قَبَّرَ, with dissimilation of last stem-consonant; פִּירְסָא *arm-chair* (quttal); מְרִנְיָא *pearl* = Eth. mōgart *precious stone*; מְרִזְבָּלָא *palm-mat*; סְמִרְטוּטָא, شَمَطَاط, *rag*; עֲרִי־לָאָה *naked*; קוֹרְפָּדָא = קְפֹדָא.

ج (= dz) loses its *z* before ز and د and ز are transposed. √ جَزَلَ *to cut*; cf. Italian *mancino*. On the connection between left-handedness and ambidexterity cf. عَسِرَ, which means both. Hence جָזַל *to grab with both hands, rob*, and جَزَلَ *give with both hands, be generous*.

¹ Cf. Assyr. zuriqātī implements of irrigation, زُرَّاقَة watering-pot, زُرْنُوق rivulet, زُرْنُوقَان watering-machine, Eg. Arab. دَوْرَق long-necked water-bottle.

² Cf. ZA., VII, 179 sq.; ZATW., XVII, 351.

³ Cf. אִיסְטִילִקִי Italian, *VL.*, 'Er. 64b פִּסְחָקָא (= פִּסְחָקָא) *Igg. Šertrā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 31; אִיסְטִילִקִי = אִיסְטִילִקִי *ibid.*, p. 44 (but this may be an istaph'al form). Here probably belongs עֲשֵׁתָר *Ištar*, √ עֲטַר, goddess of sexual lust. עֲטַר = עֲטַר (§ 793, n. 1) *rough, strong, passionate*, hence *fruitful*. From the idea of fruitfulness and plenty we have עֲטַר *kid*, עֲטַר. Eth. and dialects 'atar *beans, peas, grain*, Hebr. עֲטַר, עֲטַרָה, עֲטַרָה, *abundance, increase*. עֲטַר *kid* and *capers* may contain the idea of sexual passion; cf. Hebr. אֲבִירוֹנָה, the goat being known for lustfulness, and the capers may have been used as an aphrodisiac. עֲשֵׁתָר in עֲשֵׁתָרֹתָא may be identical with עֲטַר *kid*. Cf. also Skipwith, *JQR.*, XI, 256.—From such a form as סְלִיקוֹסְתָא has probably developed the Syriac independent suffix -סֹפ.

⁴ For the double treatment of the last stem-vowel cf. Hebr. בְּרִמְלִית with בְּרִמְלִי.

⁵ The etymology of this word is not certain. It has two series of synonyms. On the one hand, אֶבְרָא, אֶבְרָא, אֶבְרָא; on the other, יוֹרְחָא and יוֹרְחָא. It may go back to טַפַּשׁ as well as to טַרְפָּ.

⁶ It is, however, not impossible that the stem is כָּרַב, since כָּרַב = קָרַב. Cf. Tria. k^uorebtā *hill*. But cf. the spelling of קְרִבְלָתָא *crested* in Jellineck's בית המדרש, VI, 109.

ת.—§ 982. אַחַבְלָא *cluster* (§ 790, n. 1); זִמְרָא (§ 56);¹ צִיחִיר, צִיחִיר, *savory*, VL., Sabb. 128a.²

VIII. PLURICONSONANTAL.

§ 983. אֲחֻרְשָׁנָא, אֲחֻרְשָׁנָא Assy. ahursanu;³ אֲמַרְכָּלָא or אֲמַרְכָּלָא, Assy. abkallu; אֲרִיָּה, Assy. urmabhu (= urvabu), *great lion*; אֲדִיגָלָא, Assy. dimgallu (§ 50); אֲרִמְלָתָא Somali *armali widow*;⁴ חֲרִדָּלָא *mustard*; כֶּרְסָא, פִּרְסָא *lean lamb*; שִׁרְקָפָא, שִׁרְקָפָא, *nest*; תַּרְנוּגָּלָא, תַּרְנוּגָּלָא, Assy. tarra-nugallu, a compound of tarra *hen* and nugallu *king*;⁵ תַּרְנוּגָּלָתָא. Here belongs also אֲרִיָּוֶתָא *lioness*, from a stem אֲרִי, אֲרוּ;⁶ נַחֲתוּמָא *baker* = Assy. nu-batimmu.⁷

APPENDIX.

HYPOCORISTIC ENDINGS.

§ 984. Proper nouns end in יָא, אִי, יִי or יִי, וִי or וִי, and יָא. *E. g.*, מִשְׁרַיָּא, רְחוּמָא, אֲשִׁי or אֲשִׁי, אִיכִי, אִיכִי, אִיכִי, אִיכִי (for חֲנָא, § 794). Most or all of these endings occur also in the other Aramaic dialects and in Hebrew-Phenician.⁸ In Amharic we find the endings *e*, *a*, and *o*.⁹ The origin of these endings is still unknown.

¹ The Ma'lula dialect still retains the ע in זִמְרָא.

² צִיחִיר. *cf.* אֲמֹר סַעֲתִיר *difficulties, unpleasant things, Maltese santra trouble-some*; also נִדְגָּא = סַעֲתִיר בִּרְיָא and נִדְגָּא = צִיחִיר *offend with words*.

³ The word seems to be a compound. The first half seems to contain Eth. aḥar ram, Amh. aḥrā *male*, aḥrē *wild beast* = Eth. arḥē, our אֲרִיָּא and אֲרִיָּא. In the Kushitic languages the word, under various forms, means *son, daughter, child, youth, husband, man*. What is the other element?

⁴ armali is a compound of (w)ar+ma+li *husband+not+having*. The Kunama drops the last element and says ermatā *no+husband*. To the Somali form go back אֲרִמְלָתָא, אֲרִמְלָתָא; to the Kunama form, Phenician אלמרת.

⁵ *cf.* Oppert, ZA., VII, 339. Is modern Arab. تَرْغَلَة *turtle-dove* connected with this?

⁶ אֲרִיָּוֶתָא *stable* is probably connected with this stem, meaning originally *the place for the animals*.

⁷ *cf.* Zimmern, ZDMG., LIII, 115; Halévy, Rev. Sem., 1899, pp. 278 sq.

⁸ *cf.* Hoffmann, Ueber einige phöniz. Inschriften, p. 34; Renan, REJ., V, 161 sq.

⁹ *cf.* D'Abbadie, Dict. Amar., s. v. gābrā (col. 847).

§ 985. There are two genders, masculine and feminine; two numbers, singular and plural;¹ and three states, absolute, construct, and definite.

§ 987. The absolute and construct states occur but seldom, the definite state, having lost largely its original determining force, being used instead.

PLURAL TERMINATIONS.

§ 989. *a*) The usual endings of the masculine plural are: *abs. st.* [יֵי], *ct. st.* יֵי, *defin. st.* יֵי, יֵי. *E. g.*, מְבַרְכִין, מְזַלְלִין *Sanh.* 26*a*; שְׁטִי sixty (§ 136); רְשִׁיעֵיָא *Sanh.* 46*b*; זְהִי *ibid.* 29*b*. In a few cases the ending יֵי is diphthongized: נְשִׂי *VL.*, זֶבֶן 112*b*, נְשִׂא *VL.*, Sabb. 148*a*.⁶ In some other cases יֵי is written for יֵי, the הֵי being added to show that the pronunciation is *ē*, not *i*. This is quite common in later literature. *Cf.* בִּישְׁתִּידָה *Sanh.* 7*a*, אֲזַרְחִידָה, מְנַבְּרָה, *ibid.* 109*a*.

b) Not infrequently the ending of the definite state of the singular is retained before the plural ending. *E. g.*, יְהוֹרֵתִי M. MS. Meg. 14b, חֲמֵרָי VL, Sabb. 110a, לִשְׁנָיָה Keth. 91a, תִּלְנָה Sabb. 110a. In some cases it is doubtful whether we have to read תִּלְנָה or תִּלְנֵה. For nouns of the form קְטוֹלָה cf. § 847.

³ On the nature of the ending N^- cf. Barth, *AJSL.*, XII, and Lindberg, *Vergl. Gram. der Semit. Sprachen*, I, 96 sq.

⁵ Cf. מִיְּלֵחִי = מִיְּלֵחִי TR., II, 23, כֹּל הַיּוֹם the whole day, HG. 221. Cf. also שְׁעָרֵי הַיָּם the seashore, ed. Halberstam, p. 48; שְׁעָרֵי הַיָּם three (p. 43, n. 1), רוֹמֵי light, ed. Halberstam, p. 48; שְׁעָרֵי some, Igg. Šerāḏ, ed. Goldberg, p. 83, = קְרִיבָה ibid., ed. Neubauer, pp. 22, 44. The ה shows that the pronunciation was צִירִי. Cf. § 989 a.

⁶ Notice קלליריך *Igg. Šerira*, ed. Neubauer, p. 28.

c) Very seldom we find the ending נָאִי, נָאִי. The following are all that occur: נָאִי *Še'el*. § 92 = Hull. 17b;¹ נָאִי = נָאִי; *stocks*, Pes. 28a; סָמְנָי B. M. 85b, סָמְנָי VL., *ibid.*;² סָקְבָי 'Arakh, Sanh. 98a; צַפְרָי Gitt. 70a.³ In words with this ending occurring only in the plural it is sometimes doubtful whether the singular ended in נָאִי or not; e. g., שׁוּפְטָי, צוּרָי.

2. Feminine Endings.

§ 990. a) The usual endings of the feminine are: *abs. st.* נָ, *est. st.* נָ, *defn. st.* נָ. E. g., בָּנִי daughters; דְּמָעָי tears, Sabb. 33b; דְּוָכָא places.

b) Not infrequently we find the double plural נָ, נָ, נָ. E. g., בָּנִי Meg. 14b; צַנִּיעָי Sabb. 140b; שִׁידָי VL., Pes. 111b; חִידָי VL., Sabb. 110a; נְבִיאָי Meg. 14b.

c) In a few cases the plural ending is attached to the ending of the singular; e. g., שְׁמֵעָתָא traditions, שְׁפָתָא lips.⁴

d) The endings נָ, נָ (נָ), which are regular in feminine nouns from לִי-stems, are also taken by the following nouns:

a) Nouns ending in נָ, נָ, נָ; as אֲחֻרָא localities, קְדִמָּא capers, קְדִמָּא first, from אֲחֻרָא, אֲחֻרָא, אֲחֻרָא.

β) Masculine participial nouns from לִי; as אֲסוּרָא, רְעוּרָא, מְרֻרָא, from אָסִי, רָעִי, מְרִי.

γ) A number of other nouns, with or without feminine ending in the singular, which cannot be classified; as נְהֻרָא, חֲבֻרָא, from נְהָרָא, חֲבָרָא. Cf. § 992.

δ) A few nouns ending in a labial show in the plural the ending נָ instead of נָ, נָ: אֲבָהָא fathers, parents, אֲמָהָא mothers, אֲמָהָא maid-servants, אֲמָהָא cubits, אֲמָהָא flanks, שְׁמָהָא names.

e) In a few cases it is impossible to decide whether the plural ending is נָ, נָ or נָ, נָ, אֲבָהָא or אֲבָהָא, E. Y., A. Z. 29a, פְּרִשְׁתִּיכּוּ or פְּרִשְׁתִּיכּוּ, Ber. 8b, תְּקִיפּוּתָא or תְּקִיפּוּתָא, Hull. 60b.⁵

¹ נָאִי, נָאִי, 'Ānān, MWJ., 1893, p. 228.

² סָמְנָי JQR., IX, 701.

³ שׁוּפְטָי TG., ed. Harkavy, § 550, תּוּלְתָאִי *ibid.* רָבֵן is Palestinian.

⁴ אֲחֻרָא HG. 140; מְסָקְתָא *ibid.* 285; הִילְכָתָאִי Igg. Šeritā, ed. Neubauer, p. 19. From these forms we get a singular with two ת's: שְׁמֵעָתָא *Se'el.*, § 8; אֲמָהָא Sabb. 134a.

⁵ בְּנֵי הַאֲדָמָה his daughters, Hal. Pes., § 88.

טִיבִיתִין — טִיבִיתָא
 אֵי, יֵין — טַשָּׂא
 אֵין, יֵין — יְדִירָא
 פִּירִייתָא — פִּירִינָתָא
 פִּירִי — פִּירָא
 פִּילִי — פִּילָתָא
 פִּלְמִי — פִּלְמָתָא
 פִּנִישִׁיתִי — פִּנִישָׁתָא
 פִּסְתָּחָא, יִתָּא, יִתָּא — פִּסְתָּחָא
 יִתָּא, יִתָּא — פִּרְסָא
 יִתָּא, יֵי — פִּרְעָא
 לִיבִי — לִיבִינָתָא
 יִתָּא, יֵילִי — לִילִי, at night,
 יִתָּא
 אֵי, יִתָּא — מִגִּילָתָא
 יֵי, יִתָּא — מִזִּזְזָתָא
 (حصی = חצל) יִתָּא — מִחְצֵלָתָא
 מִילִי — מִילָתָא
 מִסְכִּיתִי — מִסְכָּתָא
 יֵי, יִתָּא — מִצִּוָּתָא
 מִתְנִיתִיָּא, מִתְנִייתָא — מִתְנִיתָא
 יִתָּא, יִתָּא — נִדְרָא
 יִתָּא — נִשְׁוּפָתָא
 יִתָּא — נִחְלָא
 סִאֲנִי, סִאֲנִי — סִאָּה
 יִתָּא, יִתָּא, יִתָּא — סִמְיָא
 אֵי — סִפְדִּינָא

עֵינָא, עֵינִין — עֵינָא
 fountains
 עֵמִי — עֵמִי gentiles
 עֵי, יֵי — עֵרָא
 עֵשְׂרִיתָא — עֵשְׂרִיתָא
 (989d) יִתָּא, יִתָּא — פִּרְשָׁתָא
 יִתָּא — פִּתְחָא
 יִתָּא, יִתָּא, יִתָּא — צִיבָתָא
 צִדִּיתָא — צִדָּרָא
 יִתָּא, יֵין — צִינָתָא
 צִנִּיעָתָא — צִנִּיעָתָא
 קִנְיָא, קִנְיָא — קִנְיָא
 קִצְצִיתָא — קִצְצִיתָא
 קִרְבִּיתָא — קִרְבִּיתָא
 יִתָּא, יִתָּא, יִתָּא — קִרְנָא
 horns, corners
 יִתָּא, יִתָּא — קִשִּׁיתָא
 date-stones
 קִתְּתִי, קִתְּתָא, קִתְּתִי — קִתָּא
 רִבִּיתָא, רִבִּי — רִבָּא
 teachers
 רִבִּיתִי, רִבִּיתָא — רִבִּיתִי
 winds, spirits, רִדְתָּא
 sides
 יֵי, יִתְּתִי — רִיפָתָא
 רִשִּׁיתָא
 cf. § 881 — [שִׁיבִלָתָא]

¹ לִילִינָתָא SM. No. CLXXVIII.

² מִסְכָּתָא, מִסְכָּתָא, Igg. Šertrā, ed. Neubauer, p. 10; *ibid.*, ed. Goldberg p. 87; מִסְכָּתָא HG. 285.

³ Cf. Amarīnā tãf, Quara jãb.

⁴ רִבִּיתִי Igg. Šertrā, ed. Neubauer, p. 21.

⁵ רִשִּׁיתָא, רִשִּׁיתָא, רִשִּׁיתָא, Igg. Šertrā, ed. Neubauer, p. 33; *ibid.*, ed. Goldberg, RSC., V, 7, § 21.

שְׁבִיתִי, שְׁבִיתָא—שְׁבִיתָא, שְׁבִיתָא,	שְׁעִי—שְׁעִיתָא
שְׁבִי ¹	שְׁפִירָתָא, שְׁפִירָתָא—שְׁפִירָתָא
שְׁדִירִי—[שְׁדִירָתָא]	שְׁאִי, יִי—שְׁקָרָא
שְׁדִירִין—[שְׁדִירָתָא]	שְׁאִי—שְׁקָרָא
שְׁדִירָתָא—שְׁדִירָא	שְׁאִי, יִי—תְּאֵלָא
שְׁדִירָתָא, יִי—שְׁמָא ²	תְּפִילָּי—[תְּפִילָּתָא]
שְׁדִירָתָא—שְׁמָעָא	שְׁאִי, יִי—תְּקִיפָא
שְׁדִירָתָא, שְׁנָא—שְׁנָא	תְּקִיפָתָא—תְּקִיפָתָא (§ 989d)

NOUNS WITH POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES.

§ 993. 1st person sing. com.—a) With singular nouns: רִישִׁי *my head*, Ned. 50a; אִתְּחִי *my wife*, *ibid.*; אַגְרִי *my wages*, B. M. 70a; חֵילִי *my power*, Meg. 16a.

b) With plural nouns: חַיִּי *my life*, Yoma 13a; נְשִׁי *my wives*, Sanh. 38b; קְרִיבָא *my relatives*, B. M. 87a; אֶצְבָּעִי *my fingers*, Ber. 56a; זְכוּוֹתַי *my documents*, Ned. 27a; לְאָחוֹרִי *ibid.* 50a.

§ 994. 1st person plur. com.—a) With singular nouns: נַפְשֵׁינוּ *our soul*, Ned. 25a; יָדֵנוּ *our hand*, Pes. 50a; אֶרְצֵנוּ *our land*, M. MS. Ber. 58b.

b) With plural nouns: עִלְנוֹן *upon us*, Men. 40a; תְּרִינֵן *both of us*, Šebu. 37b.

§ 995. 2d person sing. masc.—a) With singular nouns: בְּרֵךְ *thy son*, Ned. 28b; לִבְךָ *thy heart*, *ibid.* 21b.

b) With plural nouns: בְּנֵךְ וּבָתְּרֵךְ *thy sons and thy daughters*, Ber. 56a; תְּפִלֵּיךָ *thy phylacteries*, *ibid.*

§ 996. 2d person sing. fem.—a) With singular nouns: נַפְשֵׁיךָ *thy soul*, M. Q. 16b; לֶחֶמֶיךָ *thy bread*, Taan. 25a; סַעֲדֵיתִיךָ *thy meal*, Ned. 24a; דְּבִיתְךָ *thy wife*, *ibid.* 13a.

b) With plural nouns: פְּרָעֶיךָ *thy legs*, Nāz. 24b; פְּשֻׁרֶיךָ *thy joists*, Taan. 25a; מְגִירְתֶּיךָ *thy female neighbors*, Ned. 21a; חַיֵּיךָ *thy life*, Yoma 13a; בְּנֵיךָ *thy sons*, VL., Sabb. 151b.

¹ שְׁבִיתָא *Igg. Šerāḥ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 13; שְׁבִיתָא *ibid.*, ed. Neubauer, p. 13.

² שְׁמָעָא *ibid.*, ed. Goldberg, p. 2.

³ שְׁמָעָא *HG.*, ed. pr., 2a; שְׁמָעָא *SM*. No. 53.

⁴ Syr. ܡܠܬܐ. This is connected with Maltese *q a f l a string, tie, band, bond*, 'Afar-Saho *taful yarn, bond, ribbon*. תְּפִלִּין mean properly *fillets*. The doubling of the ל may be due to the same law as in a form like מְמַלִּים, but is more probably due to a popular etymology, connecting it with תְּפִלָּה *prayer*, and differentiating it from תְּפִלָּה *folly*.

⁵ From the method of Talmudic spelling it does not seem likely that the ending could be תְּפִלָּה. It is, however, possible that we have to read it תְּפִלָּה, as with singular nouns.

§ 997. *2d person plur. masc.*—a) With singular nouns: אֶרְעֹכֶךָ *your land*, Keth. 112a; אֱלֹהֶיךָ *your God*, M. MS. Sanh. 39a; לְבֵיתְךָ *to your house*, C. MS. Pes. 101a; כָּלְךָ *all of you*.¹

b) With plural nouns:² אֶלְהֵיכֶם Sanh. 39a; רְבוֹתֵיכֶם *your teachers*, Gitt. 68b; רִבִּיכֶם *your teacher*, Ker. 6a (= רַבִּינֶיךָ TF. *ibid.*); עֲבִידֵיכֶם *your doings*, Meg. 16a (§ 833, note); יָמֶיךָ *your days*, M. MS. Sabb. 136b.

§ 998. *2d person plur. fem.*—a) With singular nouns: No example.

b) With plural nouns: כְּדֵיכֶם *your pots*, Pes. 30a; פִּרְחֵיכֶם *your crumbs*, *ibid.* 110a; קְדֵיכֶם *your pots*, C. MS. *ibid.*; תְּבִלֵיכֶם (= תְּבִלְנֵיכֶם C. MS.) *your spices*, *ibid.* 110b; פִּמְיֵיכֶם *your mouths*, C. MS. Pes. 110a; כְּסֵיכֶם *your clocks*, Beḡa 38b.

§ 999. *3d person sing. masc.*—a) With singular nouns: כָּלָהּ, *all of it*, *passim*,³ בְּרִי בֶר his grandson, Ned. 48b;⁴ דְּבִיתָהּ *his wife*, Sotā 22b, 40a; דְּבִיתָהּ *id.* Ned. 23a; דְּבִיתָהּ *id.* M. MS. Yōma 83b, Sabb. 151b; דְּבִיתָהּ *id.* VL., B. M. 84a; דְּבִיתָהּ *id.* C. MS. M. Q. 9b;⁵ לְבֵיתָהּ *to his house*, VL., B. B. 10a.⁶

b) With plural nouns: בָּנֶיהָ *his sons*, Ber. 8a; יָדֶיהָ *his hands*, *ibid.* 91a; טַעְמֶיהָ *his reasons*, Ned. 81a; עֲלֵיָהּ upon him (§ 80); פִּילָהּ *his baldachins*, M. MS. Sabb. 138a; מְצָרֶיהָ *its boundaries*, B. B. 68a; מְעוֹרָהּ *his belly*, Zeb. 5a; אַפּוֹיָהּ *his face*, M. MS. Ber. 56a; אֶפְרוֹהָ Sabb. 129a; הַפְּנֵי *his beards*, Gitt. 34a.

§ 1000. *3d person sing. fem.*—a) With singular nouns: אַחֲרָהּ *after her*, Meg. 7b; דַּעְתָּהּ B. B. 151a; פְּחוּבָתָהּ B. M. 104b (פְּחוּבָתָהּ = כְּתָב, not = מְכֻתָּב).

b) With plural nouns: בָּנֶיהָ *her sons*, Ber. 56a; בָּתֵּיהָ *her daughters*, *ibid.*; קְרִיבָהּ *her relatives*, *ibid.*; עֲלֵיָהּ upon her, A. Z. 28a; מְצָרֶיהָ *her boundaries*, B. B. 128a; שִׁיבְבָתָהּ *her woman-neighbors*,

¹ נָזַח = נָזַח = כֵּן = כָּא. as כֵּן = כָּא. § 42. TG. ed. Mussafia, § 42. שְׁאֵלָתְךָ *your question*, TG. ed. Mussafia, § 42.

² Singular nouns with plural suffixes are classed here.

³ כָּלָהּ is not a plural, as given by the dictionaries. A plural of *all, totality*, is hardly conceivable. For the use of the word before plural nouns cf. Hebr. יָחַד.

⁴ Cf. Pal. Syr. لَمَحَ = لَمَحَ (Schwally, *Idioticon*, s. v.).

⁵ With helping vowel. The expression דְּבִיתָהּ *for wife* is explained by the Talmudists as a euphemism. This is probably correct as far as Jewish usage is concerned. But if the expression be not of Jewish coinage, it must have meant originally قَعْلَةٌ *stay-at-home*.

⁶ קֹדֶשׁתָּהּ TG., ed. Luria, § 207; אִסְתָּהּ *his physician*, TG., ed. Mussafia, § 89; אִשְׁתָּהּ *his wife*, TG., ed. Cassel, § 86; שִׁיבְבָתָהּ *his neighbor*, TG., ed. Harkavy, § 182.

Sanh. 82a; עֲלֵהָ C. MS. Pes. 8b (voc.); עֵלְיָה SM. No. xxiii (voc.). (י = יי; cf. "Additions and Corrections" to § 116.)¹

§ 1001. 3d person plur. masc.—a) With singular nouns: פִּלְהוֹן all of them, 'Er. 30a; רִישָׁהוֹן their head, C. MS. Meg. 11a; מֶלְכָּהוֹן their lord, Ned. 62a; הִיקְנָהוֹן their beard, Nāz. 39a; פִּלְהָהֶּ Ned. 2a; אִמָּהֶּ their mother, Sabb. 143b; נִפְשָׁהֶּ themselves, Pes. 118b; בִּדְרָהוֹן (= בִּדְרָהוֹן) their being scattered, VL, A. Z. 10b; אִירְיָהֶּ their way, Alf. Ber. 38b.²

b) With plural nouns: פִּרְמִיהוֹן M. Q. 4b; מִיְלָהוֹן their words, VL, 'Er. 68b; אֱלֵהֶּ C. MS. Meg. 14b (voc.); מְנִיָּהֶּ their garments, Sabb. 130b; מִתְנִיָּהֶּ VL, Šebu. 38b; עֵלְהֶּ Ber. 50a; חֵידָהוֹן Pes. 113b; חֵידָהֶּ VL, *ibid.*; מְנִיָּהֶּ M. MS. Sabb. 33b; קִימִיהוֹן B. B. 161b; פִּרְפִּיָּהֶּ their wings, Succā 5b; שְׁבוּיָהֶּ their captors, Keth. 23a.³ With loss of final vowel: אֲבָחֵרִיָּה VL, Sabb. 109b.⁴

§ 1002. 3d person plur. fem.—a) With singular nouns: פִּלְהָהֶּ Keth. 20b.

b) With plural nouns: גְּבֻרָהֶּ C. MS. M. Q. 9b; קְרִמִּיהֶּ VL, Pes. 74b; קְתִירָהֶּ VL, Pes. 30b.

ADJECTIVES WITH ENCLITIC PRONOUNS.

§ 1003. A few adjectives take enclitic personal pronouns, like participles: גְּבִירָהֶּ thou art high, Sabb. 67a; חֲכִימָהֶּ thou art wise, Bekh. 8b; עֲצִיבָהֶּ thou art downcast, Bēcā 16b; זֹטְרִיָּךְ we were small, B. B. 142b; חֲכִימִיָּךְ Bekh. 8b; קְשִׁיָּשֶׁךְ we are old, B. B. 142b; קְשִׁיָּךְ *id.* VL. *ibid.*⁵

אָבָא, אָמָא, אָחָא, אָחָא, אָחָא, אָחָא WITH SUFFIXES.

§ 1004. 1st sing. com.—a) With singular nouns: אָחִי VL, 'Er. 138b;⁶ אָחָאִי Meg. 13b; שְׁמָאִי Sabb. 145b.

b) With plural nouns: אָבָהִיָּ Taan. 23a; אָבָהִיָּ VL, B. B. 8b; אָחוּתִי Sabb. 57a.

¹ לחֲדָהֶּ HG. 235; לחֲדָהֶּ *ibid.* 238; עֵלְיָהֶּ *ibid.* 272; תִּלְמִידוֹהִי Igg. Šetrā, ed. Goldberg, p. 10.

² נִתְלָהֶּ to them, HG. 108 (נִתְלָהֶּ shows that this preposition is used in the singular); תִּלְתֵּיהֶּ they three, *ibid.* 61; עֵלְיָהֶּ (= עֵלְיָהֶּ) Igg. Šetrā, ed. Goldberg, p. 13.

³ מְנִיָּהֶּ SM. No. xxv (voc.); לָהֶּ *ibid.*; יְדוּהוֹן HG. 215; בִּרְנָהֶּ TG., ed. Harkavy, 870; פִּרְיָהֶּ TR., II, 14; אֲפֻרָּהֶּ Sed. R. 'Amrām, p. 7; אֲנָקְסָאֲתָהוֹן Igg. Šetrā, p. 24.

⁴ פִּלְהָהֶּ Igg. Šetrā, ed. Neubauer, p. 44; בְּתָרִיָּה MV. 31.

⁵ With adverb: מְקָרְבָּ טָפִיָּא HG. 411, for מְקָרְבָּ טָפִיָּא.

⁶ אָחָאִי HG. 318.

1st plur. com.—a) With singular nouns: אֲבוֹן Ber. 18b, Keth. 92a; אֲבוֹן Keth. 85b; אֲרוֹנָא Yeb. 37b, 38a, B. B. 135a; אֲרוֹנָא, אֲרוֹנָא, M. Q. 28b.¹

b) With plural nouns: אֲבוֹתָיו VL., B. B. 7b; אֲבוֹתָיו Pes. 50b; אֲבוֹתָיו E. Y. *ibid.*

2d sing. masc.—a) With singular nouns: אֲבוֹ Ned. 28b, 50b; אֲבוֹ Sanh. 23b.

2d plur. masc.—a) With singular nouns: אֲבוֹן B. M. 34b; אֲבוֹן VL., B. B. 58a; אֲרוֹן Yeb. 37b; אֲרוֹן E. Y. *ibid.*

3d sing. masc.—a) With singular nouns: אֲבוֹ Ber. 18b; אֲבוֹ Nāz. 30a; אֲרוֹ Sanh. 5a; אֲרוֹ C. MS. Meg. 6a, VL., B. Q. 88b (voc.); אֲרוֹ Sanh. 28b; אֲרוֹ *ibid.* 5a; אֲרוֹ Ber. 19a.²

b) With plural nouns: אֲרוֹ Nāz. 5a, Hull. 60a; אֲרוֹ B. B. 151a; אֲרוֹ VL. *ibid.*; אֲרוֹ Meg. 16a; אֲרוֹ Sabb. 13a; אֲרוֹ VL., B. M. 104b.

3d sing. fem.—a) With singular nouns: אֲבוֹ her father, Succā 31a, C. MS. Meg. 16a; אֲבוֹ his father, Šebu. 47a; אֲבוֹ his father-in-law, eds. Qidd. 12b;³ אֲרוֹ Ned. 74a.

b) With plural nouns: אֲרוֹ B. B. 141a.⁴

3d plur. masc.—a) With singular nouns: אֲבוֹן B. M. 34b; אֲבוֹן VL., B. B. 7b, B. Q. 104b, Šebu. 47b.⁵

b) With plural nouns: אֲבוֹתָיו Meg. 15a; אֲרוֹן Keth. 52b; אֲבוֹתָיו Gitt. 11b; אֲבוֹתָיו Zeb. 4a; אֲבוֹ C. MS. Meg. 14b (voc.).⁶

NOMINAL COMPOUNDS.

§ 1005. Nominal compounds are of various kinds: a) Two nouns standing in genitive relation; as בֵּית כְּנִישָׁתָא *synagogue*, בֶּעַל דְּבָבָא *enemy*. Sometimes both words are contracted into one, with occasional phonetic loss; as אֲבוֹתָא *paternal uncle*, תַּיָּא הָאֲבֹתָא *gums*, מִינְיָא *fish-brine* (= מִי נִינְיָא VL., Sabb. 105b), שְׁלֵיחַ צִיּוֹן = שְׁלֵיחַ צִיּוֹן; נְהִירָא, פּוֹמְבִידִיתָא, names of cities.

¹ אֲבוֹתָא Se'el., § 14; אֲבוֹתָא *ibid.*, § 23; אֲבוֹתָא TG., ed. Harkavy, § 1.

² אֲבוֹתָא HG. 543; אֲרוֹתָא *ibid.* 248; אֲרוֹתָא Igg. Šeritā, ed. Goldberg, p. 39; אֲרוֹתָא HG., ed. pr., 97c.

³ Cy. § 105.

⁴ אֲרוֹתָא Se'el., § 21.

⁵ אֲבוֹתָא TG., ed. Harkavy, § 232.

⁶ אֲבוֹתָא Igg. Šeritā, ed. Goldberg, p. 12; אֲבוֹתָא *ibid.*, p. 2; אֲבוֹתָא *ibid.*, ed. Neubauer, p. 4; אֲבוֹתָא, אֲבוֹתָא, RLOW., § 42.

b) Two nouns in apposition; as רַב־אֵבֶה (= רַב־אֵבֶה, רַב־אֵבֶה, רַב־אֵבֶה). Instead of a noun the first element may be an adjective or participle: קִדְשֵׁי־נֶזֶק, kinds of fish.¹

c) Noun in apposition to participle or participial noun: בֵּר־מְדֻלָּא, בְּנֵי־דְרוֹי VL., Sanh. 109a.

d) Noun and numeral in genitive relation: סַמָּתָר, סַמָּתָר, plaster made from product of dragon-tree.

e) Noun and attributive adjective: אֲשֶׁת־קֶדֶשׁ (= אֲשֶׁת־קֶדֶשׁ).

f) Two numerals: חֲדָא־חֲדָא (= חֲדָא).

g) Adjective and noun: קִטְרִין־שְׂקִיָּה.

h) Preposition and noun: אִימָת = Assyr. *ina mati, אִתְמַל = Assyr. ina timāli.

i) Relative particle and noun: חֵבֶרֶת־אִשָּׁה wife.²

§ 1006. In the nominal compounds described above, the second member of the compound determines the gender and number, and receives the endings which would otherwise be attached to the first word: כְּנִישְׁתִּי, חֲדָא־חֲדָא, נְהִיר־פְקֻדָּא, פְּרִמְבְּדִיתָא. But cf. בְּתִי־כְסָאִי MM. Ber. 62a.

¹ The nature of the first element in קִדְשֵׁי־נֶזֶק and שְׂפִרְנִיקָא is uncertain. קִדְשֵׁי־נֶזֶק is probably مَرَابُطُ الْخَوْتِ agus, galeus.

² For similar formations in Assyrian cf. Jensen, ZA., VII, 174, n. 1.

A COLLATION OF THE GOSPEL TEXT OF APHRAATES WITH THAT OF THE SINAITIC, CURETONIAN, AND PESHITTA TEXT.¹

BY JULIUS A. BEWER, B.D., PH.D.,
New York, N. Y.

MATTHEW	A	P	Ss	Sc
2:20	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= P
	om.	ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ ܕܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ	om.	om.	= A
3:2	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	om.	om.	om.
4:11	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= Ss
5:3	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= A
5:9	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= A
5:13	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= A	ܡܥܕܐ
5:14	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	ܡܥܕܐ	= A
	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= A
	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	ܡܥܕܐ	= Ss
5:18	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= A
				but adds ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ
	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= P
	but also			
	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	om. ܡܥܕܐ		
	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= A	ܡܥܕܐ
5:19	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= Ss
		ܡܥܕܐ	but om.	
	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	rest = P	but om.

¹ See Dr. Bewer's article on "The History of the New Testament Canon in the Syrian Church," I, *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1900, pp. 64-98.—A = Aphraates; P = Peshitta; Ss = Codex Syrus Sinaiticus; Sc = Codex Syrus Curetonianus.

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MATTHEW	A	P	Ss	Sc
28 : 19	همه	الحه	missing	missing
	لكنهم	لكنهم		
28 : 20	om.	١١	missing	missing
	om.	لكنهم		
		معهما		
	خبرنا ؟ هل	خبرنا ؟ هل		
	لكننا	لكننا		
	but also :			
	خبرنا ؟ هل			
	لكننا			

Mark	A	P	Ss	Sc
5:41	כלכל	כלכל	missing	missing
9:24	ענב	om.	= A	missing
	חטטטטט	חטטטטט	חטטטטט	missing
	לחלח	חטטטטט		
16:16	ענב? חטטטט	חטטטט? חטטטט	om. this	missing
	חטטטט חטטט	חטטטט חטטט	conclusion	
	ולא חטטטט	ולא חטטטט	of Mark	
	חטטטט	חטטטט		
16:17	חטטטט חטטט	חטטטט חטטט	omits	missing
	לא חטטטט חטטטטט	= A		= A + חטטט
	om.	חטטט		= A
	חטטטט חטטט	חטטטט חטטט		חטטט חטטט
	חטטטט	חטטטט		חטטט חטטט
	חטטטט	חטטטט		חטטט
	חטטטטט חטטטט	חטטטטט חטטטט		= P, but
	חטטטטט חטטטט	חטטטטט חטטטט		position of
	חטטטטט חטטטט	חטטטטט חטטטט		words is
				different

LUKE	A	P	Ss	Sc
1:13	<div> <div> אמממממ נחמ מפן חס </div> </div>	= A om.	<div> מפן חס חס חס נחמ </div>	missing
1:30	מפן חס	חס חס	missing	missing
1:48	ממממממממ	ממממ	= A	missing
2:4	<div> מממממממ מממממממ מממממממ </div>	= W-H	= A	missing

LUKE	A	P	Ss	Sc
2:14	מִכְרָם שֶׁמֶטֶל וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה אֵלֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	missing
	but also:			
	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט = Ss (P = מִכְרָם) וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט twice in A, neither in P nor Ss וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט from P וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט from Ss וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט from P וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט from Sc		
3:8	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	= Ss except וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט (= A, P)
6:24	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט om.	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	missing
6:30	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	missing
6:45	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה but also = P	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	missing
	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	
7:14	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	missing
8:52	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	= A
	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	missing in Matt.
9:59, 60	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה
10:19	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	= P
	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	= P
12:19	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	= Ss
	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	= Ss
	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	= P
	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	= P
	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	וְהַמֶּשֶׁבֶט הַזֶּה	= A

LUKE	A	P	Ss	Sc
12:19	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	=Ss
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= P	= P
12:21	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= P	= P
14:11	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ (ܡܢ) ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= P	= P
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= P	= P
14:12	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= P	= P
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= A	om.	= A
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= A	= A
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= A	= P
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ } ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ }	=Ss
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= P	= P
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= A	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	=Ss
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= A	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ } ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ }	
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= P	= P
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= A	= A
14:13	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= P	= P
	om.	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= A	om.
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= P	= P
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ } ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ }	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ } ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ }
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= A	= A
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ } ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ }	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ } ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ }
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ } ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ }	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ } ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ }
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ } ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ }	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ } ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ }
14:14	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= A	= A
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= P	= P
15:7	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= P	= P
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= P	= A
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= A	= P
16:9	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= A	om.	= A
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ } ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ }	= A
16:14 position of phrases	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= A	different	missing
16:20	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= P	missing
16:21	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ } ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ }	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ } ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ }
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	om.	om.
	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	ܬܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ	= A	

LUKE	A	P	Ss	Sc
20:35	ⲁⲩⲓⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲉ	ⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= P	= P
	ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	but om. ⲛⲟⲩⲉ	
20:36	ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲁⲩⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲁⲩⲓⲁ	} = Ss
	ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	
	ⲁⲩⲓⲁ	ⲁⲩⲓⲁ	ⲁⲩⲓⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= Ss
	om.	ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= Ss
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	om.	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲁⲩⲓⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ
	om.	ⲁⲩⲓⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ
20:38	ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= P	= P
21:23	ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= P	= P
	ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= P	= P
23:43	ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= A	= A	ⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ
(twice)	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= P	= A

JOHN	A	P	Ss	Sc
1:5 (twice)	ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	missing	= A
1:14 (twice)	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	} missing	= A
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ		
1:51	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	?	missing	missing
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	missing	missing
2:19	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= P	missing
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	} ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	}
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	om.		
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁ	missing	missing
3:12	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	} = A	}
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ		
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	} = Ss	} Ss, Sc differ from A only in the position and in the suff. of the last word
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ		
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	} = Ss	} Ss, Sc differ from A only in the position and in the suff. of the last word
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ		
3:13	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= P	= P
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= P	= A
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= A	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= A
3:34	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	= A
	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ	missing
	also ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲁ			

JOHN	A	P	Ss	Sc
3:35	וְשֶׁנֶה וְהַמְּלָךְ הָאֵל	וְשֶׁנֶה חֲסִידָא וְהַמְּלָךְ הָאֵל	missing וְשֶׁנֶה הָאֵל וְהַמְּלָךְ הָאֵל	וְשֶׁנֶה = P

This variation in A is due to the verse in Matt. 21:27, which he quotes immediately following this.

5:22	אֵלָּא לֹא אֵלָּא לֹא	לֹא אֵלָּא אֵלָּא } לֹא לֹא אֵלָּא }	= Sc	= A only adding אֵלָּא
	חֲסִידָא דְּחִיבָא	חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא	= A	= A
5:25	בְּזֵלָא דְּאֵל מְתִידָא	בְּזֵלָא אֲחִידָא דְּמְתִידָא	missing	= P = A
	דְּחִידָא דְּאֵלָּא	דְּחִידָא דְּחִידָא		= P
5:28, 29	חֲסִידָא	חֲסִידָא דְּמְתִידָא חֲסִידָא	missing	= A
	חֲסִידָא מְתִידָא	om.		om.
6:55	חֲסִידָא	= A	חֲסִידָא	חֲסִידָא
	חֲסִידָא מְתִידָא	חֲסִידָא	= P	= P
	חֲסִידָא דְּחִידָא	חֲסִידָא	= P	= P
6:59	חֲסִידָא	חֲסִידָא	= A	= P
7:37 (twice)	חֲסִידָא דְּחִידָא	חֲסִידָא אֵלָּא חֲסִידָא	חֲסִידָא דְּחִידָא	= Ss
10:9	חֲסִידָא דְּחִידָא חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא	חֲסִידָא דְּחִידָא חֲסִידָא אֵלָּא חֲסִידָא	חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא	missing
10:11	חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא אֵלָּא חֲסִידָא	חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא } חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא }	= A	missing
10:12	חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא	om.	om.	missing
	חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא	חֲסִידָא	missing	missing
	חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא	חֲסִידָא	= A	missing
10:16	om.	חֲסִידָא אֵלָּא	= A	missing
	חֲסִידָא	om.	om.	
10:17	חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא	חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא } חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא }	= A	missing
	חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא	חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא } חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא }	= P	missing
10:30 (twice)	חֲסִידָא	= A	חֲסִידָא	missing
11:23	חֲסִידָא דְּחִידָא חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא	חֲסִידָא חֲסִידָא	missing except חֲסִידָא	missing
11:26	om.	חֲסִידָא	= A	missing
12:26	חֲסִידָא	חֲסִידָא	= A	missing

JOHN	A	P	Ss	Sc
12:35	ܠܡܠܝܢ	ܠܡܠܝܢ	= P	missing
	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	missing
	ܠܡܠܝܢ	ܠܡܠܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	missing
13:8	ܐܠ	ܐܠ	= A	missing
13:9	om.	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= A	
	ܬܝܚܝܠ ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ ܬܝܚܝܠ	= A	
	ܐܢ	= A	ܐܢ	
13:10	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= A	
	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	om.	= A	
13:12	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ . . .	
	ܬܝܚܝܠ ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܬܝܚܝܠ ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= P	
	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= A	
	ܐܢ ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܐܢ ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= A	
13:14	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= A	om.	
	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= A	
	ܬܝܚܝܠ ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܬܝܚܝܠ ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= A	
	ܐܢ ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܐܢ ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= A	
	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= A	missing
	ܐܢ ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܐܢ ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= A	missing
	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	but ܐܢ for ?	
13:34	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	missing
	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	
14:2	ܐܢܝܢ	ܐܢܝܢ	= A	missing
14:3 (twice)	ܐܢܝܢ	ܐܢܝܢ	= A	missing
	ܐܢ	ܐܢܝܢ	= A	
14:23	ܐܢܝܢ	= A	= A	ܐܢܝܢ
	ܐܢܝܢ	= A	ܐܢܝܢ	ܐܢܝܢ
14:27	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	om.	om.	om.
15:12	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= P	missing
(several times)				
19:36	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	missing	missing
	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ		
20:13	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= P	missing
	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= P	missing
	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	ܡܠܝܢܝܢ	= P	missing

Contributed Notes.

MUHAMMEDS LEHRE VON DER OFFENBARUNG.

A FINAL REPLY.

In consequence of Dr. Pautz' *Erwiderung*¹ in the last number of this JOURNAL and of a letter from him dated October 2, 1899, it falls to me to withdraw at once and fully my inference that he is a pastor and preacher. But I cannot at the same time withdraw my reflections on Dr. Pautz' style which were the basis of that inference, and I am thus left with an unsolved problem on my hands.

Further comment does not seem to be required by Dr. Pautz' communication. Those who have any acquaintance with the subject—a somewhat out of the way one—will understand the situation, and those who have not, and who may be impressed by Dr. Pautz' cloud of witnesses, will find my position amply justified in the review of the book in Achelis' *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Vol. II, pp. 186-95, by Professor Goldziher, of Budapest, who is easily the first authority on the subject. I learned of that review from Dr. Pautz himself after my own was written and sent off.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
Hartford, Conn.

¹ See this JOURNAL, Vol. XVI, No. 1, pp. 52-8, October, 1899.

Book Notices.

PAYNE SMITH'S COMPENDIOUS SYRIAC DICTIONARY.¹

The only statement as to the purpose or plan of this book is that made on the title page, since no preface, nor introduction, appears in either part. The first point to be noticed is that words are placed alphabetically and not under roots. This method has certain advantages in a language embracing so many foreign words as the Syriac does, and also in the case of words of doubtful origin.^{2,3} Its chief disadvantages arise, first, from the fact that many words have two or more spellings; and, secondly, from difficulties about such forms as are both participle and adjective or noun. We notice that the Aphels of Pe Olaph, Pe Yudh, Pe Nun, and EE verbs are usually given. Of Pe Nun verbs, the Aphels of ܢܝܢ, ܢܝܢܐ, and ܢܝܢܐ with unassimilated Nun, and of ܢܝܢܐ, ܢܝܢܐ, and ܢܝܢܐ, with assimilated Nun, are omitted. So also are the Pe Yudh Aphels ܝܕܝܬܐ, ܝܕܝܬܐ, and ܝܕܝܬܐ, and the Pe Olaph Aphel ܐܠܦܐ. The Aphels of all E Wau verbs are omitted, though given in the *Thesaurus*. It might have been just as well to have omitted all the Aphel stems from a dictionary.

In order to compensate for not having put derivatives under their roots, a list of derivatives is given at the end of each verb or original noun. But sometimes the derivatives are not all given, *e. g.*, under ܐܠܦ we find neither ܐܠܦܐ nor ܐܠܦܐ; under ܐܠܦܐ, neither ܐܠܦܐ, ܐܠܦܐ, ܐܠܦܐ, nor ܐܠܦܐ, ܐܠܦܐ; under ܐܠܦܐ, neither ܐܠܦܐ, ܐܠܦܐ, nor ܐܠܦܐ. Sometimes no derivatives are given, *e. g.*, under ܐܠܦ and ܐܠܦ.

We note that, while the meaning of phrases is frequently given, no references are found. In giving meanings to words or phrases of infrequent occurrence it would be well to cite the place where they occur, *e. g.*, we would like to know where ܐܠܦ occurs alone in the sense of "jackal."

¹ A COMPENDIOUS SYRIAC DICTIONARY, founded upon the *Thesaurus Syriacus* of R. Payne Smith, D.D. Edited by J. Payne Smith. Parts I and II; 272 pp. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York: Frowde, 1896 and 1898. Each part 8s. 6d., net.

² See remark by Siegfried as given in the prospectus to *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*.

³ The author might have taken advantage of the alphabetical plan when treating ܐܠܦ, ܐܠܦܐ, and ܐܠܦܐ. Brockelmann gives a root ܐܠܦ for the two former, but here we are told that ܐܠܦ is from ܐܠܦ and ܐܠܦܐ from ܐܠܦ. A form like ܐܠܦ from an E Wau root is without analogy. ܐܠܦܐ from ܐܠܦ might be justified by ܐܠܦܐ (see Noldeke, 127). ܐܠܦ is attributed to a supposititious root ܐܠܦ instead of ܐܠܦ, as Noldeke suggests (see § 106).

word only, as in **אמרי**; sometimes we have two spellings given each by itself without any reference to the fact that the other spelling occurs, e. g., **אמרי** and **אמרי**; sometimes two or more spellings are given, as in **אמרי** and **אמרי**, while again only one is given, although more are found, as in **אמרי**. It must be admitted, however, that it is too much to expect that we shall have a complete collection of variant spellings even in a thesaurus, much less in a compendium.

R. D. WILSON.

WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
Allegheny, Pa.

BUCHHOLTZ ON THE JEWS IN RIGA.¹

This monograph covers the period from 1560 to 1842 A. D., during which Riga, the capital of Livonia, one of the Baltic provinces, thrice changed its rulers. It was first conquered by Poland; then, in 1621, by Sweden, and since 1710 forms part of the Russian empire.

The first mention of Jews in the documents of Livonia occurs in 1560, when, in the negotiations between Livonia and Poland, the former asks for a guarantee against the admission of Jews, and the narrative treats almost exclusively of the struggles of the Jews to gain a foothold in Riga and the counter-efforts of the municipal authorities to keep them out. The general government, with the exception of the Swedish, was as a rule more liberal-minded. The Swedes, with whom the conversion of the Jews was a part of their ecclesiastical ordinances, which they extended to Livonia, were averse to tolerating the Jews either in their native country or in the conquered provinces. Yet economical considerations proved stronger than sentiment. The Jews were needed for the large commercial life of the city, especially as the middlemen in the trade with Poland and Lithuania. They, therefore, were suffered to sojourn annually for a brief time in Riga, but under severe restrictions. They were allowed to carry on trade only with citizens, not with strangers. They were prohibited from remaining over night within the city walls, and compelled to live in a Jew inn ("Judenherberge") in a suburb. This Jew inn was a ghetto of the worst character. It was under the management of a Christian "father" ("Herberge-Vater"), who controlled all the movements of his wards, and even those that preferred to camp among their wares in the port had to pay a tithe to the "father," who in turn paid a considerable amount to the city for this privilege.

Under the progressive and politic Catherine II. (1762-96) the Jews obtained a kind of legal status, being licensed to sojourn annually during six weeks in Riga, living in the Jew inn, and to carry on trade, while formerly they were entirely at the mercy of the municipal authorities. The latter remained hostile to the Jews, and their petition to the city

¹ GESCHICHTE DER JUDEN IN RIGA BIS ZUR BEGRÜNDUNG DER RIGISCHEN HEBRÄER-GEMEINDE IM J. 1842. Von Anton Buchholz. Riga: N. Kymmel, 1899. iv+161 pp.; 8vo. M. 3.60.

council, on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the union of Livonia with Russia in 1810, to "allow them every permissible living under the same conditions as other citizens, and to teach their sons skilled trades"—a petition accompanied by a touching poetic appeal—fell on deaf ears.

In 1765 we hear for the first time of something like a congregational organization among the Jews of Riga. The services were held in a room of the "inn," set aside for this purpose. As late as 1814 a petition of the Jews for permission to own a synagogue was refused by the authorities on the ground that such a permission "would indirectly involve the acquiescence to a permanent residence of the Jews." It was as late as 1850 that the general government, against the protest of the council of Riga and the governor of Livonia, allowed the Jews to establish a house of worship in a suburb of Riga. At that time 605 members were enrolled in the Jewish congregation of Riga.

Since then the Jews have been allowed to live everywhere in Riga. Their number at present is estimated at about 30,000, out of a population of about 257,000, and they enjoy the possession of three synagogues, nine meeting-houses, and six schools.

I. M. CASANOWICZ.

NATIONAL MUSEUM,
Washington, D. C.

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THE DOCTRINE OF FREEDOM IN THE KÖRÂN. ✓

BY WALTER M. PATTON, PH.D.,

Instructor in Semitic Languages, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

It is correctly supposed that Islâm teaches today the doctrine of a predestinating sovereignty in God. In Mohammedan theology the doctrine is called *at-taqdir*, and it implies that "whatever has or shall come to pass in this world, good or bad, proceeds entirely from the divine will, and has been irrevocably fixed and recorded on a preserved tablet by the pen of Fate."¹ I quote a more formal statement of the tenet from a small Turkish catechism:²

One must further confess that good, evil—in fact, everything—happens as a result of the predestination and foreordination of God. That everything which has been and everything which will be is decreed in eternity and is written on the preserved tablet [of the divine decrees]. That nothing can be different. That the faith of the believer, the piety of the pious, and his good works are foreseen, willed, predestinated, decreed by writing on the preserved tablet—produced, approved, desired of God; but the unbelief of unbelievers, the impiety of the impious, and all bad actions, though they occur with the foreknowledge of God, by his will, as the effect of his predestination recorded on the preserved tablet, and are due to his operation, yet have not his approval or satisfaction.

In the same work, in the article on God, we find the same belief expressed, and an objection to it met as follows:³

If anyone ask why God did not will that all men should be believers, but that some should be unbelievers, here is the answer: One must not

¹ Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. Predestination.

² *Exposition de la Foi Musulmane*, traduite du Turc de Mohammed ben Pir-Ali el-Berkhevi, avec des notes par M. Garcin de Tassy, pp. 21 sq.

³ El-Berkhevi, pp. 4 sq.

inquire as to anything that God wishes or does; to himself alone belong such questions. He is perfectly free to wish and do what he pleases. Further, in what he wills and what he does, he has conceptions of usefulness and wisdom which are beyond the understanding of the children of Adam. In creating unbelievers and in willing that they should be unbelievers, in forming serpents, scorpions, and swine; indeed, in willing every evil thing, God has conceptions of wisdom and usefulness which it is not necessary for us to understand, but of which it is necessary that we be persuaded. Finally, one must confess that the will of God is eternal and is not posterior to his essence.

The doctrine of predestination in this rigid form has been the undisputed faith of the Muslim world, as far as orthodox Islām is concerned, for 1100 years. Disputes as to the question began very soon after the death of the Prophet (632 A. D.), but no intense interest in the subject was aroused until the Abbaside caliphs came to power in 750 A. D. Under the fifth ruler of that dynasty, the famous Hārūn ar-Rašīd (786–809 A. D.), Greek philosophy made its influence felt, especially that of Aristotle. The Aristotelian and neo-Platonic view of nature as a living whole was not favorable to an extreme view of the causal agency of God in the universe,⁴ and there began to appear here and there those who asserted a doctrine of predestination which preserved to men their freedom of choice. The whole influence of this Arabic renaissance under the first Abbasides was in favor of free thought and, naturally, led the boldest spirits to protest against the domination of authority in matters of faith, and to call in question the dogmas of the traditional theology of their time. At the outset the orthodox doctors, in a grieved way, opposed the new views in lectures and writings, but were not greatly alarmed. But when the brilliant al-Ma'mūn came to be caliph, things were soon changed. He gave his open patronage and vigorous assistance to the new learning and encouraged strongly the protest against traditionalism, going even the length of a hot persecution of the orthodox doctors.⁵ The most intense opposition was made to the new liberalizing tendency under the leadership of the great doctor and saint Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, founder of the strictest of the four orthodox schools of Islām. Principally owing to the stand taken by him and his following, the tide turned, and in 847 A. D., after the persecution of the orthodox had continued

⁴ Windelband, *History of Philosophy*, English translation, p. 317.

⁵ The particulars will be found in the present writer's *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*. [See this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV, pp. 209 sqq.—EDITORS.]

somewhat over sixteen years, al-Mutawakkil became caliph and cast his influence on the side of the traditional faith. In this controversy the liberals were called the Mu'tazilites or Mutakallims, while the orthodox were the people of the Sunna, or tradition, and of the Jama'a, or orthodox communion.

The direct issues between the two parties were the questions of the divine attributes and the origin of the KÖRÂN, but what ruled the conclusions reached by the respective parties on these points was the view taken with respect to the sovereignty of God and the freedom of the human will. The triumph of the Sunnis meant that Mohammedanism for all time to come was to be a predestinarian faith. The complete overthrow of the Mu'tazilites was, however, delayed for some time, and was finally accomplished only when one of their most famous theologians, Abu-'l-Ḥasan al-Asharī (died 941 A. D.), deserted their cause and threw his whole influence on the other side.⁶ About this time the name Mutakallims was transferred from the Mu'tazilites to the orthodox apologists, who now set themselves to apply the logic of Aristotle in the defense of traditional theology. The word *Mutakallim* means one skilled in the science and art of Kalām, or logic. These men devoted themselves with vehement zeal to produce a philosophical account of their Mohammedan faith, and have given us, as a result, the only original philosophical system produced by the Arab mind. Their works never became known in Europe when Arab learning spread there in the scholastic period. The Jews, who were the mediators of the Arabic learning, translated into their own Hebrew the purely philosophical works which the Arabs had either translated from other tongues into their own or had worked up from the materials furnished by the translations. From that portion of the Arab philosophical literature which had a theological motive the Jews could get no advantage, and they, therefore, did not translate it. Hence it is that the Latin translations of the Hebrew works of the Jews contain nothing of the original productions of the Arab philosophic genius.⁷ It is interesting to remark that this new scholastic theology of Islām was geographically nearer to the seats of revived learning in Europe than it was to the original centers of Mohammedan learning in Asia. Moorish Spain was the most orthodox of all Mohammedan

⁶ Dozy, *Het Islamisme*, 2^de druk, pp. 164 sqq.

⁷ Schmölders, *Écoles philosophiques des Arabes*, pp. 104 sqq.

countries, as well as the most brilliant intellectual domain of the Muslims. Dozy in his work on Islam quotes the shocked saying of a Spanish theologian who had been twice to Bagdad, and who declared that he would never return there, because of the looseness in views which was there prevalent.⁸

It should be stated that the sources of dogma for the Muta-kallims were as follows: the Koran, the traditions of the prophet which were recognized as genuine, the consensus of usage and opinion among the faithful, and, in cases of necessity only, analogical argument in harmony with the three recognized criteria already named.⁹

We will discuss later the teachings of the Korān as to the doctrine of predestination, and will now content ourselves with mentioning the basis found in tradition for the predestinarian teaching of the orthodox teachers. One tradition declares that those who are predestinated to paradise deserve it by their deeds till they die, and in like manner with those predestinated to hell. Another tradition tells us that God hath preordained five things on his servants: the duration of their life, their actions, their dwelling-places, their travels, and their portions (in the world to come).¹⁰ Building on these recognized foundations, the Muta-kallims then taught:

That human actions are but divine actions created by the power of God and distributed to men. In accomplishing any undertaking or executing any labor man is only following the divine will of which he is always but the blind instrument. All that is witnessed in the world of actual piety and impiety is willed by God. He knows the man who is to die in impiety and unbelief, and cannot visit such with any retribution, for, in that case, it would be necessary that the divine knowledge should have changed, and that could not be. From all this it follows that good and evil do not exist in relation to God, but solely in human relations. God is the absolute sovereign; he does what he wills to do; he chooses as it may please him, without being determined by any cause whatsoever. Evil in relation to us is that which is forbidden by the law; good is that which is commanded. Good and evil are the attributes of the real and the non-real; of that which is beneficial or prejudicial to nature. But, as we have seen, man has no choice in his actions; it does not depend on him that he should eschew the evil, even though he is to be punished for it in the world to come. God to be perfect must have need of nothing. It is, therefore, wrong to claim with the Mu'tazilites that God ought to

⁸ Dozy, *Islamisme*, pp. 226 sq.

⁹ *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*, p. 190.

¹⁰ Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. Predestination.

compel men to be obedient to him. The divine actions are not the effects of any design whatever; God would have defect in his nature if he were to act following an impulsion, or allowed himself to be led in his working by or for anything outside of himself. Hence it is wrong to speak of God's design to make men good, perfect, etc. As far as God is concerned, perfection and imperfection are the same thing, and are regarded, therefore, indifferently. If that were not so, perfection in men would add to the blessedness of God, which is impossible.¹¹

It will be easily understood that with such a view of God's sovereignty a science of ethics would be logically impossible in the orthodoxy of Islâm; and, in fact, orthodox Islâm has no moral philosophy. It knows "law" as found in or developed from the Korân, and knows nothing further; unless, perhaps, we except a few purely theoretical attempts at ethical discussion, whose authors felt that what they said or wrote was entirely superfluous as far as practice was concerned.¹²

I have spoken of the good and the evil as being indifferent to God because of the absence of design in the divine mind and because of the immutability of the divine perfection. In harmony with what has been said on this point is the theory of the origin of moral creatures in the universe which was held by many of the Mutakallims. God does not create. The highest intelligences are emanations from his essence; from these come lower intelligences, and from these yet lower, until what we call evil spirits are reached.¹³

Al-Asharî has been spoken of as having secured, by his desertion of Mu'tazilism, the ascendancy of the predestinarian orthodoxy, and yet his view of divine sovereignty was not quite that of the majority of the Mutakallims. They held not only to the divine predestination, but to an irresistible constraint exercised upon men to secure its realization. The Asharites, on the other hand, held that the predestined actions and character were the result of the free choice of the individual agent, and that hereby was established the responsibility of each man for what he did and was.¹⁴ The name Asharites is now applied to all the orthodox theologians of Mohammedanism, but the true Asharites hold the view just stated, and the others are more truly designated Jabarites, or absolute predestinarians.¹⁵

¹¹ Schmolders, pp. 188 sq. Cf. the view of al-Ghazzâlî in Ockley, *History of Saracens*, Bohn ed., pp. 73 sq.

¹² Schmolders, p. 189.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 196; Hughes, art. Predestination.

¹⁵ Hughes, art. Predestination.

We have sought to set forth the views of the Mohammedan confession at the time when they had first reached their full development, and in the opening of the present paper it was shown that precisely the same views obtain today.¹⁶ There has been no modification, no progress. Such is orthodox Islām in respect to this doctrine and in respect to its theological system generally. The lowest foundation of such a view of divine causality is the Semitic mental character; and, of all Semites, none has the same monotonous education as the Arab in fatalism or the belief in the absolute foreordination of events. The broad desert, with its limitless brown sand, and overhead the eternal regularity of blazing sun and the cold uniformity of the waxing and waning moons; the entire dependence of life on what nature provided of pasture for the herd or of dates and hunting for man; even the dreaded night raid of some hostile clan—these and other things were factors contributing to make a people, the dearest name of whose faith is Islām—"resignation."

The character made the theology; but it is to some extent true, also, that the predestinarian theology of Islām has deeply affected the Mohammedan character. Gibbon was partly correct in attributing the reckless bravery of the armies in the early Moslem campaigns to the practical fatalism of their faith. He but left out the factor of racial character. In my own mind there is no doubt that this one doctrine of sovereignty has indirectly led to an ultra-conservatism in theology generally, and has given a definiteness and sanction to the whole religious system of Mohammedanism, such as explains its hold upon all Muslims, and that compelling appeal to ignorant races which has won them to the faith of the Prophet. There is one God, the Almighty, the Compeller. This religion is all his. Such a call has imperative moral force and wins those who do not reflect.

The position of the Shiahs ought, however, to be explained at this point. They contend that the *Ḳorān* does not teach the doctrine of absolute predestination, if fairly interpreted; that it formed no part of the belief of the Prophet or of his immediate successors; and that the caliph Alī declared that all who denied free will were heretics.¹⁷ But it is necessary to state that all who

¹⁶ Cf. Muir, *Mahomet and Islam*, p. 243.

¹⁷ Bosworth-Smith, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, pp. 163, 165. Ameer Ali, in his *Life of Mohammed and Spirit of Islam*, asserts the same.

favor this view in this day are strong supporters of the rights of reason in theology. They are the spiritual successors of the old Mu'tazilites, whose first principle was: In right and in fact our intellectual notions of right and wrong, good and evil, are anterior to religious dogma. The latter, in fact, cannot be true if it contradict the principles of reason.

With such a starting-point these rational theologians would have been compelled to throw over the Kōrān had it, in their judgment, opposed free will. But both Mu'tazilite and modern Shiah think it possible to so understand the sacred book that a system of theology entirely in accord with reason may be based upon it. The independent-attitude of the Mu'tazila with reference to the Kōrān is illustrated by their contention that the book was the product of Mohammed's reflection and imagination, and not divine in any way which implied departure from the course of natural law. The production of another book equal or superior to the Kōrān is quite conceivable, if we grant the possibility of another man appearing with the gifts and elevated religious consciousness of Mohammed.¹⁸ This possibility the Mu'tazilite was quite ready to admit. The attitude of these two opposed parties in Islām finds some analogy in the attitude of modern thinkers toward the Bible. But such views have always been looked upon as infidel by the orthodox, and the mutual hatred of the strict Muslim of today and the Shiah is a matter of notoriety. Dr. Snouck-Hurgronje relates that in the orthodox schools of Mekka which he attended the Mu'tazilites were looked upon as stupid blockheads and abominable heretics, because they held that reason was the standard of truth. On one occasion he heard a professor say that the ignorant heathen who argued with Mohammed believed, just as the philosophers did, "in human reason," at which saying a smile of contemptuous astonishment passed over the countenances of his students, the professor approving it by a half-pitying shrug of the shoulders.¹⁹ Burton, in his *Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Mecca*, has spoken of the contumely and persecution heaped upon the Persian Shiah pilgrims who come to visit the holy cities—so greatly, in fact, do they thus suffer that only a few of them ever make the Hajj.²⁰

¹⁸ Schmolders, p. 196.

¹⁹ Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Vol. II, p. 267 and note.

²⁰ Vide also Dozy, *Islamisme*, pp. 296 sqq.; Ockley, *Saracens*, Bohn ed., p. 334, note.

Having thus brought before us the respective views of freedom held by these two divisions of Mohammedanism, we will now turn to the *Ḳorān* itself and see what it really teaches. Commentators do not help us greatly in this kind of study, and, naturally, we must eschew the views of the dogmatists. The text of the *Ḳorān*, in an investigation of this kind, must be allowed to speak for itself. It must be premised, however, that Mohammed was sometimes under the necessity of presenting his message in a form which would commend itself to his hearers, with their innate disposition to exalt unduly the power and causal agency of Deity. Further, Mohammed wrote nothing, and what he said by revelation was not collected till after his death. The several circumstances which his revelations were meant to meet were often widely divergent, and even contradictory, in their character. Add to these two considerations the third, that Mohammed was a man of too limited logical faculty to perceive that different utterances of his, if carried to their logical conclusions, would be found to be mutually exclusive.²¹ These cautions will guard us against any too exacting demands of a book like the *Ḳorān*.

Let us examine the passages which appear to imply human freedom :

1. As in the Bible, so in the *Ḳorān*, there are hundreds of passages in which men are reasoned with, invited, encouraged, exhorted, warned, and denounced, as if their doing right or wrong depended on themselves alone. As this point will be sufficiently illustrated in citations to be given under other heads, it is not necessary to quote in this place from the *Ḳorān*.

2. There are passages which deny God's connection with human wrongdoing:²²

vii:27, 28.—And when they do anything wicked, they say, We found our fathers at this, and God commanded us to do it. Say, Verily, God doth not command anything wicked. Do ye speak against God what ye do not know? Say my Lord commands only justice. . . .

xvi:92.—Verily, God bids you do justice and good . . . and he forbids you to sin and do wrong and oppress; he admonishes you, haply ye will be mindful.

ix:97.—God will not be pleased with a people who work abomination.

²¹ Schmolders, p. 190.

²² On our subject Mohammed's earlier and later teaching does not vary. We quote mainly from the less poetic Suras, which, as a rule, are late.

3. Passages wherein the sin of men is laid at their own doors :

vii:16 *sqq.*—[In the account of the fall of Adam and Eve they acknowledge their own responsibility.] They said, O our Lord! verily, we have wronged ourselves.

xvi:101.—Satan has power only over those who take him for a patron and over those who associate [other beings with God, *i. e.*, idolaters].

v:82.—Those of the children of Israel who disbelieved were cursed by the tongue of David and Jesus the son of Mary; that is, because they rebelled and did transgress; they would not desist from the wrong they did.

xi:38.—Do they say, He has devised it [the Kōrân]? Say, if I have devised it, then on me be my sin. . . .

ii:209.—But none did differ [as to the truth] but those who had been given it, after that clear evidences had come to them, out of inordinate desire among themselves.

4. Passages allied to those just cited, which make men responsible for their destiny, whether blessed or otherwise :

vi:69.—Remind them that a soul shall be banned by what it has earned. . . . Those who are banned for what they have earned, for them is a drink of boiling water, because they did not believe.

x:30.—Then shall every soul prove what it has done in time past, and they shall be returned to God their rightful patron.

xvi:36.—And the evil which they [the idolaters aforetime] had done befel them and that environed them at which they used to mock.

iii:27.—The day when every soul shall find what it has done of good present before it; and what it has done of evil, it would fain there were between itself and that a wide interval.

xvi:30.—Those whom the angels took away [on the last day] were wronging themselves . . . wherefore enter ye the doors of hell.

xvi:35.—God did not wrong them, but it was they who wronged themselves.

v:13.—God has promised to those who believe and work righteousness that for them is pardon and a great reward; but those who disbelieve and call our signs lies, these are the fellows of hell.

vi:161.—He who brings a good work shall have ten like it; but he who brings a bad work shall be recompensed only with the like thereof, for they shall not be wronged.

ii:278.—Verily, those who believe and act righteously, and are steadfast in prayer and give alms, theirs is their reward with their Lord.

Compare, also, iii:111; xvi:34; iii:139; lxxiv:41 *sqq.*; ii:84, 286; v:54; viii:35.

5. By way of strengthening these passages which involve personal responsibility for action and destiny, I add some which oppose vicarious

responsibility. Some of the citations already made teach the same doctrine by implication, at least, but those now to be cited will make the point more clear:

iv:111.—And whoever gets to himself a sin or a guilty act [and] then throws it on another, he hath borne calumny and a manifest guilty act.

vi:164.—But no soul shall earn aught save against itself; nor shall one bearing a burden bear the burden of another. . . .

x:108.—Say, O people, there has come to you the truth from your Lord, and whoever is rightly guided, he is rightly guided only for himself, and whoever may err, he errs only against himself.

liii:37 *sqq.*—No bearer is burdened with the burden of another, and (that) a man receives only that which he has wrought, and (that) he shall be shown his work.

6. Passages which represent God as determined in his attitude toward men by their attitude toward him:

vii:133.—And the good word of thy Lord was fulfilled on the children of Israel, for that they were patient; and we destroyed that which Pharaoh and his people had made and that which they had erected.

vii:152.—But those who have done bad works, and then turn again after them and believe—verily, thy Lord, after that, is forgiving and merciful.

xiii:12.—God changes not what a people has until they change it for themselves.

iii:70.—Verily, God loves those who fear.

xi:119.—Thy Lord would not have destroyed the cities [of the plain] unjustly while the people of them were well-doers.

viii:39.—Say to those who disbelieve, if they desist they will be forgiven what is past.

Compare also viii:33; ii:155; iv:20, 21; vi:54; v:43.

7. More particularly is guidance to and in the true way of salvation said to depend upon the disposition of men:

ii:260.—For God does not guide the unjust people [explained by the commentator Beidhāwī as those who do themselves injustice by the refusal of right guidance].

ii:266.—For God guides not the unbelieving people.

xvi:39.—Verily, God guides not those who go astray. . . .

iv:69 *sq.*—But had they done what they were admonished to do, then it would have been better for them, and a more firm assurance. And we would surely have brought them from ourselves a mighty hire, and would have guided them into the right path.

vi:88.—That is God's guidance, he guides whom he will of his servants; and if they fall into idolatry, vain is that which they have wrought.

iii: 80.—How shall God guide people who have disbelieved after believing and bearing witness that the apostle is true, and after there came to them manifest signs? God guides not the unbelieving people.

xvi: 9.—God's it is to show the path; from it some turn aside. . . .

Compare also xiii: 27; iv: 136; v: 18; iii: 19.

8. A few places where the voluntary character of religion is clearly recognized :

ii: 258.—There is no compulsion in religion.

x: 99.—But had thy Lord pleased, all who are in the earth would have believed altogether; as for thee, wilt thou force men to become believers?

xvi: 108.—Whoso disbelieves in God after having believed, unless it be one who is forced, while his heart is resting in the faith . . . on such is wrath.

9. Passages in which gradation in merit and award is set forth :

ix: 19.—Have ye made out the giving drink to the pilgrims and the repairing to the Sacred Mosque to be like being a believer in God and in the last day, who is also strenuous in the way of God?—They are not equal in God's sight.

ix: 20.—Those who believe and who have taken part in the Hijra and been strenuous in the way of God with their wealth and with their persons are highest in rank with God. [A description of their reward in paradise follows.]

xvi: 90.—Those who disbelieve and turn people off God's path, we will add torment to their torment for that they were evildoers.

x: 31.—There [at the judgment] shall every soul prove what it has sent on before.

Compare also iv: 97; iii: 156; viii: 4; x: 28.

10. There are other classes of passages which imply human freedom, such as those which speak of the books in which each man's recording angels write down his actions, which books are the basis of the final judgment at the last day. Here we see judgment according to man's action. Other passages speak of the fairness of the final awards, because God will not wrong the worlds; of God looking to see how men are going to act; and of messengers whom God sent with his own messages, and who were yet rejected by those addressed.

I think this examination of references to human freedom shows that the doctrine is taught in the Kōrān. A question, however, arises as to whether the book teaches the divine sovereignty in any such sense as would deprive this mass of evidence of the force it appears to have. To answer this question we turn to the presentation of God's sovereignty in the Kōrān.

As to the fact of the doctrine of divine sovereignty being in the book none is ignorant. The only question is as to how it is there set forth, and to what extent it appears to restrict human freedom. We confine ourselves to a summary presentation of the different aspects of the subject found in the *Ḳorān*, without citing passages.

The *Ḳorān* says that God has knowledge of all things. How much this means will depend on the correctness or incorrectness of the orthodox view that God and his knowledge are one and the same; in other words, that there is no distinction of attribute and essence in God's being. It appears most reasonable to say that Mohammed had no theory on this subject.

God has power over all things. It ought to be noted at this point that the Arabic adjective expressing the idea "able to do," which is oftenest used of God's power, may be connected with two related verbal roots, one of which means "to be able," "to have power;" and the other, "to arrange," "to make ready," and, secondarily, "to decree," "to fix," "to assign a part." The nouns and adjectives derived from these roots have in the different cases, sometimes, rather the idea of "power or ability to do or control," and, sometimes, that of "decree, prearrangement, destiny." It appears that the Arab most readily thought of one who had power as determining things beforehand according to the measure of his power and then unfailingly bringing them to pass.

God is independent of everything outside of himself. He is *al-Qaiyūm*, the self-existent. I do not remember that any other Semitic language expresses the same idea by a single word.

This self-existent Deity owns everything as its proprietor. He made his creation as he pleased, and distributed what he had created in orders and places as he pleased. He is the creator, the disposer, the dominant. He set the sun and moon, and by his decree ordained them as measurers of time for men. That the day should be for labor, the night for rest, is preordained. The plants germinate, grow to their perfection, and decay; men are born, grow up, fail, and die by decree. The forms of animals and their modes of locomotion have been fixed, and for each creature there is an invariable law. That the race should be bound into a unity by marriage and by descent is a preconstituted order.

As to the method of creation, all things are in ideal or heavenly possession by the creator, first of all, and, then, by his decree become real and extra-heavenly.

Turning from creation to providence, the Kōrân expressly teaches that all events are the progressive realization of God's appointment. No plans devised by men can change or defeat the order of God for the earth and its people. The evil he purposes to do none can avert, and the good he has resolved on cannot be defeated. No change of a man's circumstances, no change of his choice, can affect what God has predetermined for this life.

The appearance and extinction of nations have their respective hours decreed, and none is able to either advance or retard the time fixed. Rule in the earth God gives to whom he will, whether we speak of the ruling nations or the rulers of the nations. Individual men, too, die at God's hour which has been written in a book. They will be raised again at an hour which has been likewise decreed.

God is the constrainer, the forcer. He provides everything, does everything in the natural world, and governs everything. If he have willed to give to the Muslims the victory at the battle of Bedr, it will make no difference whether they go out to fight or stay at home. The victory will come in either case. If the weaker side win in battle, there has been an antecedent "permission" of God controlling the issue. The miracles of Jesus had this governing "permission" behind them, likewise.

Now, this "permission" is very often alluded to in the Kōrân, and there are some things which, at one time, God is said to have appointed and, at another, to have permitted; *e. g.*, the battle of Bedr, and even the saving act of faith.

Passing into the sphere of purely moral relations, we meet whatever real difficulty there is.

The Kōrân declares that God has created many of the jinns and men for Gehenna (vii:178); that he appoints to paradise and perdition whom he will. No power can produce in men faith unless God please, and, had he willed it so, all men would have believed; those who do not believe have been stupefied by God's having inspired them with a horror of Islām. God makes idolatry seem right to the unbelieving heathen, or, if it be their idols who so delude them, it is by that apparently compulsory factor, the

divine "permission." God leads astray whom he pleases, and can do so in spite of all the warnings and exhortations of his own messengers. Still, for all that, idolatry is a sin which he will never pardon.

God gives to men such knowledge of himself as he chooses to give. When Gabriel, the Holy Spirit of the *Ḳorān*, gave his revelations to the Prophet, it was by the divine permission. And the recitation of the revelations to men is controlled by the same cause, for I think we may call it such.

If it be the divine pleasure that a man embrace Islām, his heart will be opened to receive it; if otherwise, God will close the man's heart. No intercession can avail on behalf of those whose hearts God has made to disbelieve. Intercession itself, in fact, is by God's permission.

Forgiveness of sins, special wisdom, mercy, or grace are bestowed as God wills and on whom he wills. In the written record of human actions God blots out and confirms according to his own good pleasure. In general, God guides whom he will to present and eternal salvation.

One interesting passage makes Satan say to God: "For that thou hast led me into error, I will lie in wait for them [the believers] in thy straight path."

The punishment of the wicked in this world is accomplished by God, who torments and disgraces unbelievers by the hands of his servants.

After God has raised the dead at the last day, there is to occur the judgment, and thereat no soul shall speak save by his permission.

What has been said indicates the comprehensive range of God's sovereignty. We need only add that all this is strengthened by the vehement unitarian monotheism of the *Ḳorān*. The intensity of this unitarian belief is illustrated in the name given to the polytheistic pagans of the *Ḳorān* age and later times. Their standing designation is "associators," "those who give to God a fellow, or fellows." The Muslims do not call the Christians "*Mushrikūn*" (associators), as they do the heathen, but they do charge them with "*Shirk*" (associating, giving a fellow), because of their doctrine of the Trinity. Those who say that God has a son make a grievous mistake, and if they urge that Jesus the

Messiah, the son of Mary, is the son of God—"may God fight them! how they lie!" The Holy Spirit in the Korân teaching, far from being of the Godhead, is the angel Gabriel, who brought the Korân revelations to Mohammed. However, the Muslims own to a certain community with Christians, as also with Jews, inasmuch as each people has had divine revelations, and is therefore not Mushrikûn, but Ahlu-'l-Kitâb, "people of the book."

The sovereignty of God is an unshared sovereignty, even as it is an irresistible sovereignty.

What conclusion can we now come to with reference to the divine sovereignty and human freedom?

First, it will, perhaps, have been remarked that we have an unqualified sovereignty over nature; that, in providential events not involving human choice, there is also an absolute foreordination, irresistibly realized; but, immediately human freedom comes into question, the notes of the Korân teaching are not harmonious.

A good authority says on this phase of our subject:

Mohammed taught the foreknowledge of God, but he did not lay down precisely the doctrine of predestination. He found it, as all have found it, a stumbling-block in the way of man's progress. It perplexed him, and he spoke of it, but often contradicted himself, and would become angry if the subject were mooted in his presence: "Sit not with a disputer about fate, nor begin a conversation with him." Mohammed vaguely recognized that little margin of free will which makes life not wholly mechanical.²³

The Muslim, however resigned to God's will he may be, so far believes in its conditional relation to himself as to adopt any measures of prudence which suggest themselves in the conduct of his life.²⁴

The Korân tells us frequently that God guides aright whom he will; but it is equally clear in saying that those who turn to him, who repent, believe, and do good works, are those whom he guides. He leads astray whom he will, but, again, we learn that he leads astray only the evildoers (ii: 24). From our examination it seems clear enough that in moral relations God's sovereignty is conditioned by man's freedom.

When God is represented as the author of sinful dispositions and actions, and the evil consequences attaching to them, we must

²³ Lane, *Selections from the Korân*, 2d ed., Introd., p. lxxxi.

²⁴ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, Minerva edition, p. 263.

bear in mind other cases where it is said that God acts in some way or other, as a cause of good or evil, only after a disposition is present in man or an action accomplished by him. And, if it be finally asked how God comes to be made the author of evil at all—whether he be so by bringing it into existence, or by confirming and increasing it when in existence—we must remember that this was the belief of Mohammed's auditors, and that the *Ḳorān* and Islām to a very large extent show accommodation to the native ideas and prejudices of the Arab mind. This explains the presence of such teaching in the *Ḳorān*, but does not seem to remove the contradiction of human freedom which it implies. However, I think it does so if we regard the expressions of this kind regarding God as, not the language of Mohammed's conviction, but, rather, the language of the theater—used for its effect. Mohammed often employed such preaching, too, when he found it impossible to secure the conversion of those he wished to convert. His hope was to bring all Arabia to the faith of el-Islām, and, when they would not be brought, he found the fact best explained by adopting and proclaiming such a view as this, that God had made men to disbelieve, etc. In this case the idea was an afterthought to explain certain events, and would be dismissed just as soon as the prophet had to proclaim a new revelation—perhaps to be resumed if this, in its turn, were not received.

The declaration that idolatry is a sin which God will never pardon might seem to imply limitation of human freedom, but it, too, must be looked upon as hyperbole used for effect, inasmuch as all Muslims had been idolaters, except a few who had been Jews or Christians.

While I cannot accept Emanuel Deutsch's statement to the effect that Islām does not mean absolute submission to God's ordering, but rather striving after righteousness with one's own strength, I fully agree with his view that the *Ḳorān* of el-Islām does not teach that God's ordering is absolute.²⁵ After making all necessary deductions, we can still find the unmistakable teaching of free will in the Mohammedan scriptures.

²⁵ Deutsch, "Essay on Islam," in Bosworth-Smith, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, pp. 381 sq.

NOTES ON THE COMPOSITION OF 2 SAMUEL.

BY STANLEY A. COOK, M.A. (CANTAB.),
Hornsey, London, England.

The narratives of which 2 Samuel is composed are of unique importance for the student of Hebrew history. They are our only old source for the life and age of David, and a clear conception of their aim and contents is the key to a consistent view of the times which immediately precede and follow. It is fortunate, therefore, that criticism can be applied more easily to the material at our command in 2 Samuel than is the case with the few chapters in 1 Samuel (too often of Ephraimite origin) which recount David's earlier history.

It is generally agreed that, relatively, the latest passage in this book is chap. 7, while the fact that the connection between chaps. 9-20 and 1 Kings, chaps. 1, 2, is broken by chaps. 21-24 shows that the latter was placed in its present position after the separation of the books of Samuel and Kings had been effected. As for the rest of the book, it is agreed that we have plainly the work of more than one hand. In the case of chaps. 9-20, however, criticism is unanimous that, apart from a few glosses, these chapters are from one writer, and that they form, perhaps, the oldest and most trustworthy section in the whole book. In short, it is generally held that the book shows few traces of editing; it has, in fact, suffered more from the copyist (as is shown by the state of the text) than the editor.¹

The present article has grown out of a study of Absalom's rebellion. From a consideration of certain peculiarities in the narrative the writer came to the conclusion that it had suffered considerable revision, and was to be assigned to an earlier period of David's life—before he became king over all Israel. To estimate the bearing this had upon the rest of the book a new study

¹ Mention should be made of Kautzsch's opinion, *Abriß d. Gesch. d. alttest. Schrift.* (1897). Apart from E (probably 1:6-10, 13-16), D (7:1-12, 14-29), and passages of unknown origin (chiefly in chaps. 8; 21:3-14; 23:16-7; 24), he finds two sources: (1) a Jerusalem narrative (time of Solomon or Rehoboam), in chaps. 5; 6; 9-11; 12-20 (a few passages excepted); and (2) a David narrative (most probably Judean tenth or ninth century), in chaps. 1-4; 5; 21:15 sqq.; 23:8-39 (a few passages excepted)

of the remaining chapters in 2 Samuel became necessary. Fresh light seemed to be thrown upon certain features which, if they did not bear directly upon the main issue, appeared at least to be of equal interest. A separate discussion of these was impossible at this stage, and hence it seemed desirable to throw the following pages into the form of an independent contribution to the analysis of 2 Samuel, and to aim at presenting material for future investigation and criticism.

Throughout the following pages frequent use has been made of Budde's *Richter und Samuel*, and the introductions, commentaries, and handbooks of Cornill, Driver, Kittel, Klostermann, Kuenen (*Einleitung*, Erster Teil), Reuss, Stade, Wellhausen, and Winckler.² In referring to the sources of 1 Samuel Budde's analysis in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* has been generally followed. It should be mentioned, however, that his J and E represent the Judean and Ephraimite documents respectively, and it is still an open question whether these correspond to the familiar Yahwist and Elohist of Hexateuchal criticism.

For the sake of convenience the narratives have been divided into eight sections: § 1, chaps. 1-4; § 2, chaps. 5-8; 21-24; § 3, chaps. 9-12; § 4, chaps. 13-19, the history of Absalom; § 5, chaps. 19-20:22, Sheba's revolt; § 6, the interviews in chaps. 16, 19; § 7, 1 Kings, chaps. 1, 2; and § 8, general results.

§ 1. *Chapters 1-4.*—*a*) The first section of this book is chiefly concerned with the history of David and Ishbaal (Ish-bosheth), Saul's successor, chaps. 1-4. To this, chap. 1, which describes the manner in which David receives the news of Saul's death, is an introduction. The account of Saul's death, as has been often observed, does not agree with that in 1 Sam., chap. 31, and seems to be explained best by Budde (p. 238, *cf. SBOT.*),³ who ascribes 1:6-10, 13-16 to E. He is doubtless right in assigning vs. 5 to JE, since Jonathan, who is mentioned in David's inquiry (*ibid.*), is absent from the following verses. The description of the messenger's fate appears to have suffered some redaction; in 1:15 the Amalekite is slain by one of David's followers,

² Professor H. P. Smith's *Books of Samuel*, in the International Critical Commentary series, appeared after the MS. of this article was sent off.

³ *SBOT.* = *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, edited by Paul Haupt.—Kuenen (*Einleitung*, § 21, note 9) suggests that the two accounts are doublets. No stress should be laid upon the use of הָאִישׁ (vs. 2) and הַיָּחִיד (vss. 5, 6); similarly in 1 Sam. 4:16 *eq.* we find both הָאִישׁ and הַיָּחִיד. There is a slight resemblance between these two passages; *cf.* מֵהָרֶגֶט, vs. 16; 2 Sam. 1:4a, and vs. 12b; 2 Sam. 1:2a.

whereas in 4:10 allusion seems to be made to another (earlier ?) tradition wherein he is killed by David himself. There may have been two traditions in circulation, but linguistic criteria in chap. 1 suggest that the older tradition has been replaced by one tending to remove the stain of bloodshed from David's hand.⁴

The chapter concludes with David's lament over Saul and Jonathan quoted from the book of Jashar (vss. 17 *sqq.*). The question of its Davidic authorship will rest partly upon psychological grounds (Budde, p. 238), and partly also upon our conception of the relation subsisting between Judah and Israel at Saul's death. It is to be noticed that the song is addressed to Israel, and with Israel alone is it essentially concerned, thus rendering it difficult to accept Klostermann's ingenious reading in vs. 18 (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל קָשׁוּ).

Stade (*Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 257) has pointed out that the natural sequence to 1 Sam., chap. 31, is to be found in 2 Sam., chap. 2, and, indeed, chap. 1 does not appear to belong to the original groundwork of David's history. Its obvious purpose is to account for the transmission of the regalia from Saul to David, whence it is probable that it has been introduced by the redactor, who combined the two histories of David and Saul.⁵ The evident sympathy for Saul and his house naturally suggests an Ephraimite origin, and in this connection it is worth remembering that it is E, also, who, in Josh. 10:13, has again quoted the book of Jashar. We perhaps owe the introduction of the song to the author of vs. 5, with which verse the mention of Jonathan (vss. 22, 23, 25 *sq.*) connects itself.

b) Chap. 2 resumes the personal history of David, and is, therefore, the immediate continuation of 1 Sam., chap. 30. He leaves Ziklag and goes up to Hebron, where the men of Judah come to anoint him (vss. 1-4a). The abruptly introduced mention of the men of Jabesh-Gilead (vss. 4b-7) rests upon 1 Sam. 31:11 *sqq.* (Saul's history), and, with Meyer (*Gesch. d. Altertums*, Vol. I, § 297), does not belong to the original narrative.

⁴ "House of Israel" (vs. 12b) in Hexateuch only P, but once D² in Josh. 21:43, E² in 1 Sam. 7:2 *sq.*; in 1 Kings 12:21 D. For 2 Samuel see 6:5, 15; 12:8; 16:3. "People of Yahweh" (*ibid.*), 1 Sam. 2:24 E²; "anointed of Yahweh" (vs. 14), R^D in 1 Sam. 2:35 (*cf.* vs. 10), E² in 1 Sam. 12:3, 5, and Midrash in 1 Sam. 16:6. In earlier narratives 1 Sam. 26:9, 11, 23 (E) and in 24:7, 11 (J, according to Budde).

⁵ This he has done by prefixing vss. 1-2a (to "the third day"), a strikingly precise notice which does not appear to agree with the situation represented in 1 Sam., chap. 30. It has probably been derived from 1 Sam. 30:1 (three days' journey from Aphek to Ziklag).

Ishbaal is crowned by Abner at Mahanaim, and rules over Benjamin, Ephraim, Jezreel, Gilead, etc. The extensive district over which he held sway may be understood if we assume that he was a vassal of the Philistines (*cf.* Kamphausen, *ZATW.*, Vol. VI, pp. 43 *sqq.*). Continuing, vss. 10a, 11 are acknowledged glosses (Wellhausen, Budde), but the close similarity between 10b ("but the house of Judah followed David") and 20:2; 1 Kings 12:20 makes it probable that vss. 10, 11 are both from the same hand.

Next we meet with certain details of the war between Ishbaal and David. Vss. 14–16 describe a small skirmish at Gibeon; the story is possibly an etymologizing attempt to explain the name חִלְקָת הַצְּדִירִים (Budde, p. 240).⁶ Vs. 17, on the other hand, speaks of a big battle wherein the men of Israel are beaten; vss. 18–24 a self-contained narrative follows with the account of Asahel's death. The latter can hardly be connected with the preceding passages (note the fresh introduction, vs. 18), nor does it seem to be the prelude to vss. 25 *sqq.*⁷ In the verses which follow, vs. 27a (with the use of אֱלֹהִים) can scarcely refer to vs. 14 (RV mg.); a fight would surely have occurred under any circumstance, and, as Driver (*Books of Samuel*, p. 188) notes, the verse must refer to vs. 26. The chapter concludes with the cessation of the war (vs. 28; *cf.* vs. 30a), and Abner's return to Mahanaim (vs. 29).

In chap. 3 vs. 6b follows immediately upon vs. 1, vss. 2–5 belong to chap. 8, and vs. 6a is the redactor's addition (*cf.* Budde, *SBOT.*). Vs. 1 directly contradicts 2:28, and the use of בֵּית דָּוִד (vs. 1; *cf.* 1 Sam. 20:16 R^{JE}; 2 Sam. 7:26, see below), אֶרֶץ (*ibid.*, rarely before D), and יָלַד (*ibid.*, Gen. 41:19; Exod. 23:3 E, but Judg. 6:15 J), favors the assumption that vss. 1, 6b *sqq.* have been worked over (at least) by a later hand (בְּחֻזֶּק, vs. 6b, see our note on 10:12, § 3, c). Further support is found in the words of Abner (vss. 9 *sq.*; note אֱלֹהִים, vs. 9a), which are related to the passages in 1 Samuel where David is spoken of as accepted by Yahweh, all of which, however, are later than J (1 Sam.

⁶ LXX presupposes חִלְקָת הַצְּדִירִים "portion of the plotters," and the context suggests חִלְקָת הַצְּדִירִים "portion of the sides." For conjectures the writer may be permitted to refer to his article *Helkath-Hassurim* in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II. *cf.* חִלְקָת in Gen. 33:19; Josh. 24:32 E; see also 2 Sam. 14:30 *sq.*; 23:11 *sq.* below.

⁷ Wellhausen, however (*Die Bücher Samuelis*, *ad loc.*), suggests the original identity of גִּבְעַת אֲמֹת (vs. 24) and גִּבְעַת אַחֲזָה (vs. 26).

15:28 E²; 16:1, 12 Midrash; 18:12a E; 28:17 R^JE).⁸ A similar feeling is observed in vss. 17 sq., where זָקֵנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל points to E (cf. 1 Sam. 4:3 E; 8:4 E²).⁹ That 2:12–16 is older than 1 Sam. 18:20–29; 19:11–17, has been rightly noticed by Marquart (*Fundamente*, p. 24). But is our passage conflated, or should we read “Abner” for “Ishbaal” in vss. 14, 15? Why should David send to Ishbaal for Michal when, as we learn from vs. 13, the marriage was to confirm the *secret* alliance which Abner was seeking with David?

Vs. 30 is ascribed to a late redactor (see *SBOT.*), and, by the unexpected inclusion of Abishai, is obviously to be connected with vss. 29 and 39, which, instead of Joab alone, speak of “Joab’s house” and the “sons of Zeruiah.” The lament which follows (vss. 33, 34) may be an insertion; vss. 32b and 34b are closely parallel, and בְּנֵי עִלְלָה recurs in 2 Sam. 7:10 (see below), and elsewhere in later passages. Suspicion attaches itself also to David’s curse in vss. 28 sqq., from the awkward manner in which it is introduced (וַיִּשְׁמַע דָּוִד בְּאָזְנוֹ); for a parallel construction cf. 2 Chron. 32:23b), and from its unfriendly feeling toward Joab (see below, § 6, b).

There is little to notice with respect to chap. 4. The tradition in vs. 10 has been already mentioned (see above), and David’s regard for Ishbaal reminds us of the Ephraimite tendency in chap. 1 (above).¹⁰

c) Not a few traces of redaction and combination of passages from different sources have been found throughout this section. We have no clear conception of the struggle between David and Ishbaal (cf. Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 262). We find traces of a narrative which suggests that Abner and Ishbaal are supported by Benjamin alone (2:14–16, 18–27, 30–32), whereas other verses presuppose that Joab is fighting against all Israel (vss. 17, 28). It is curious, moreover, that in chaps. 3 sq. there is nothing to suggest that Saul’s court is still at Mahanaim, with the possible exception of 4:7b.¹¹ This city is mentioned only in

⁸ “Dan to Beersheba” (vs. 10b) is generally late; cf. Budde, p. 258, and see especially Hope W. Hogg, “Dan to Beersheba,” in *Expositor*, Vol. VIII, pp. 411–21 (1896).

⁹ Probably J² in Exod. 3:16; 4:29; 12:21; E in Numb. 11:30; 16:25; Exod. 17:5, 6; 18:2; 24:1, 9; Josh. 24:1; and R^JE in Josh. 7:6. On 2 Sam. 5:3; 17:4, 15 see below, and on 1 Kings 8:1, 3 see Kuenen, § 25, note 2.

¹⁰ בְּרֵר (vs. 11b) is markedly D.

¹¹ The murderers of Ishbaal come (from Mahanaim?) “through the Arabah” to Hebron; cf. 2:29.

2:8, 12, 29; 2:8 *may* belong to an Ephraimite writer, and vss. 12, 13a, 17 . . . 28 *sq.* appear to form part of an originally independent account (R^{JE}?). Which is the more historical, the Benjamite or the Israel narrative?

It is well known that the Philistines, after their victory at Gilboa, occupied the cities in the northern plain at Jezreel, and since Saul's court was forced to flee across the Jordan, it would appear that Benjamite territory was no longer secure. It is, therefore, remarkable that the only recorded skirmish was in Benjamin, and that Abner seems to have stood at the head of this tribe, and exercised some authority over it (*cf.* 2:25, 31; 3:19).

Another noticeable peculiarity in chaps. 2-4 is the absence of all reference to the Philistines. It is natural to suppose that it would be in their interest to leave the rival houses of David and Saul in a state of warfare, and it has been plausibly conjectured that David, as well as Ishbaal, was their vassal. Consequently one expects that it would have been the Philistines' policy to preserve the balance of power, and it is difficult to understand for what reason they abstained from interference. As we know from 2 Sam. 5:17, they do not reappear until north and south are united and David has become king over all Israel.

§ 2. *Chapters 5-8.*—All the tribes come to David and anoint him king over Israel, he goes up to Jerusalem, the Philistines are driven away, and the ark is brought up. David proposes to build a house for the ark, but Nathan, at Yahweh's command, forbids him. Successful wars are waged against the surrounding nations, and we seem to reach the climax of David's history. His authority is felt far and wide, and in everything David perceives the hand of Yahweh working on behalf of His people.

It will be impossible to consider these chapters without taking into consideration the appendix (chaps. 20-24),¹² and since our intention is to gain an idea of the age and character of the various narratives, it will be convenient to classify the contents according to their subject-matter.

a) *Narratives dealing with Jerusalem.*—Following the introduction (see below) comes the abrupt notice of the capture of

¹² The position of chaps. 21-24 shows that they were inserted after the separation of the books of Samuel and Kings (Driver, *Introduction*, 6th ed., p. 183), but did the writer who inserted them leave them untouched? Chaps. 22-23:7, the song followed by the last words (*cf.* Deut., chaps. 32 *sq.*, Moses' Song followed by the Blessing), are later. For 21:1-14 see below, § 3. Budde (*SBOT.*) arranges the narratives as follows: 5:1-3, 17-25; 21:15 *sqq.*; 23:8 *sqq.*; 5:6; 6:1; 5:7-12; 6:2 *sqq.*; chap. 7; 8:1-14; 3:2-3; 5:13-16; 5:4, 5; 8:15-18.

Jerusalem by David and his "men" (5:6 *sqq.*). Chap. 6:1, which mentions the assembling of thirty thousand of the chosen men of Israel, does not seem, therefore, to be an apt prelude (against Budde, p. 243). The notice of Hiram and his message in vss. 11 *sq.* probably refers to the latter part of David's reign, since the Phœnician king was a contemporary of Solomon (see Kittel, *History*, Vol. II, p. 157, note 2).¹³ It is possible, however, that he has been introduced from 1 Kings, chap. 5, just as the account of Saul's victories in 1 Sam. 14:47 seems to be based upon 2 Sam., chap. 8.

Chaps. 6, 7, which break the connection between 5:25 and 8:1, do not appear to belong to this section (*cf.* Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 266). Opinions vary as to the source of chap. 7. Wellhausen (*Hexateuch*, p. 257) and Kuenen (§ 22, note 5) ascribed it to D. Kittel, however (*History*, Vol. II, pp. 46 *sq.*, 160, note 2), and Budde (p. 244) would find in it traces of older material. It is sufficient for our purpose, however, to recollect that it is agreed that a hand later than J has worked over it.

Chap. 6 is composed of two incidents: (α) the bringing up of the ark from Baal of Judah to the house of Obed-Edom, and (β) its removal to Zion. These are kept distinct by the chronicler and characteristically treated after his own manner (1 Chron., chap. 13 = 2 Sam. 6:1-11; 1 Chron. 15:25 *sqq.* = 2 Sam. 6:12 *sqq.*). In vss. 2-4, 6, 7b (where David is accompanied by his "men") אֱלֹהִים consistently recurs, but in vss. 5, 7a, 8 *sqq.* (where David is accompanied by Israel, vss. 5, 15, 19) the divine name is regularly יְהוָה (so read in vs. 12b with LXX, Lucian).¹⁴ The close resemblance between α and 1 Sam. 6:19-7:1 will not pass unnoticed. In view of the obvious relation between chap. 6 and chap. 7 it is not improbable that the former (derived from some "History of the Ark") has been introduced into its present position by the final editor of the latter.¹⁵ To him we may, perhaps,

¹³ See the article Hiram in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

¹⁴ With regard to the Yahweh-narrative it is noteworthy that vs. 5 has no real connection with the context, and that the words "the anger of Yahweh was kindled upon Uzzah" (vs. 7a) are a parallel to, and perhaps a gloss upon, "and Elohim smote him." יְהוָה occurs in vs. 2b, which is possibly a gloss.

¹⁵ On the whole chapter see Kesters, *Theolog. Tijdschr.*, 1893, pp. 361-78. 2 Sam. 6:20-23, which connects itself with vs. 16, is omitted by the chronicler (1 Chron. 16:43b = 2 Sam. 6:20a). Its tone is distinctly anti-Benjamite, and vs. 21, in particular, resembles in spirit such a passage as 3:9 *sq.* (on which see § 1, b), above). But 6:20-23 is very probably an addition. One notes that in β (and also in the יְהוָה fragment in α) David is king over all Israel, and that from 6:23 it is to be inferred that Michal has only just become David's wife.

ascribe 6:1, and see traces of his hand in such expressions as **בית ישראל** (6:5, see above on 1:12), and **בך בשם** (6:18b; cf. Deut. 10:8; 21:5). Finally, we have chap. 24, relating the census of Israel, Yahweh's wrath, and the erection of the altar at the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite. Has the existence of an old altar been the origin of the narrative? The close relation between chaps. 24 and 21 has been frequently observed (see, e. g., Wellhausen, *Hexateuch*, p. 263); cf. further 24:13 (LXX) with 21:1 (the duration of the famine), and 24:15 (LXX) with 21:9b (the time of year), and see Kuenen, § 22, note 18. The exact source of this chapter can scarcely be decided; a number of noteworthy usages found in it are given in a note.¹⁶

b) *Wars*.—Incidents in the wars with the Philistines are found in 5:17–25; 21:15–22, and 23:8–39. In the first passage, the scene is laid in Baal-Perazim and the valley of Rephaim, and the Philistines are beaten from Gibeon to Gezer (cf. LXX and 1 Chron. 14:16). In the second, the scene is removed to Gob (read Gezer?) and Gath, and in the last we find amid various notices the account of a fight at Lehi (23:11), a list of David's heroes, and strangely enough a fragmentary passage where the Philistines are again in the valley of Rephaim and actually have a garrison in Bethlehem! It is, indeed, strange to find them so near the capital. It is evident that we have a number of fragments, secular and religious, which have been loosely brought into their position by a later hand (so also Wellhausen, *Die Bücher Samuelis*, p. 212, note), to whom we may *inter alia* ascribe the introduction, 5:17a.¹⁷ That they rest upon an old tradition we need not doubt;¹⁸ possibly, indeed, they once formed part of the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh," which is quoted by E in Numb. 21:14 sq.

¹⁶ כהם וכהם (vs. 3), see Deut. 1:11; עיני ראות, cf. Deut. 28:32. For the geographical description in vs. 5 sqq. (on text see Wellhausen, Klostermann, Driver, Budde) cf. Deut. 2:36; 3:12; Josh. 12:2; 13:9, 16; the mention of Tyre and Sidon is striking. For "Dan to Beersheba" (vs. 2) see on 8:10 above (note 8). נסכלתי (vs. 10), see Gen. 31:28 E; 1 Sam. 13:13 J² (so Budde); 26:21 E; for 2 Sam. 15:31 see § 4, e); מלאך יהודה (vs. 16), see on 14:17 below, § 4, a); ודעור (vs. 17), cf. 2 Sam. 7:14 (see above), and for 2 Sam. 19:20 see § 6, b); מנוסה (vs. 21) in Hexateuch E and P (plural in Exod. 9:14 J); with נעצר, cf. Numb. 17:13, 15; 25:8 P; רצח (vs. 23), old in Gen. 33:10; Deut. 33:11, 24, generally D and later. In vs. 24 the order אחרים חמשים is unusual and generally late (cf. Driver, *ad loc.*). אחר for אחר, characteristic of the Elisha narratives (1 Kings, chap. 20–2 Kings, chap. 8), recurs in Josh. 10:25; 14:12 D (cf. Driver, *Introduction*, 6th ed., p. 183, note).

¹⁷ Note also vs. 24, "Yahweh will go before thee," and cf. Deut. 9:3; Judg. 4:14 (E, so Budde, Moore). חלקה in 23:11 sq. is also a sign of E; cf. on 2:16 above, § 1, b).

¹⁸ E. g., the notice of the slaying of Goliath in 2 Sam. 21:19 as compared with 1 Sam., chap. 17.

In chap. 8 we have some account of David's campaigns which, in its present form, shows signs of much revision and redaction (according to Budde, *SBOT.*, vss. 1-6a R^D, 6b, 11, 12 R^F).¹⁹ Compared with chap. 10 the chapter is a panegyric idealizing David's successes; see further below, § 3, c).

c) *Family and official lists.*—Little need be said respecting the family lists. Amnon (3:2) was the son of the Jezreelite Ahinoam, and Dodiel (so Klostermann, and Marquart, *Fundamente*, p. 25; MT, דָּוִיָּאל, בְּלֵאָה) was the son of Abigail the Carmelite. The third, Absalom b. Maacah, was the grandson of Talmai king of Geshur. Since David's first two wives came from the south of Judah, we can hardly suppose that in the case of Absalom the Aramean state of Geshur is referred to (cf. Josh. 12:5). It is not easy to see how David at this early period of his life was able to contract an alliance with so distant a principality, and it becomes more probable, and indeed agrees better with his policy to suppose, that Geshur is the less known south-Palestinian district which seems to have been situated beyond the Philistine territory (cf. Josh. 13:2; 1 Sam. 27:8, and see below § 4, b). The fourth son, Adonijah, is briefly styled "ben Haggith," possibly a corruption of בֶּן-הַגִּתִּית "son of the Gittite (woman)."

The list of officers, 8:16 *sqq.*, recurs in 20:23 *sqq.*, where, however, it seems out of place. As Bonk has already suggested, it is probable that these lists are comparatively late (see *ZATW.*, Vol. XI, p. 142). Benaiah, for example, is nowhere mentioned in the following narratives (9-20:22), and the head of the Cherethites and Pelethites, so far from being Benaiah, was Joab (cf. 20:7, and on text see Budde, *SBOT.*). Possibly the LXX addition to 1 Kings, chap. 2, is more correct in styling him chief τοῦ πλυνθείου (vs. 46h), i. e., of the מִלְכָּה or "brick-kiln" (?);²⁰ cf. 2 Sam. 12:31, Keri.

d) It is evident that this section comprises a number of heterogeneous fragments of various ages and sources (cf. Wellhausen, *Hexateuch*, p. 258), and has as much right to be ascribed to the oldest narrator as the appendix (chaps. 21-24), which, in the matter of contents, it closely resembles. The *terminus a quo* of

¹⁹ Also דָּוִיָּל (vs. 9) with the meaning "army" in *Hexateuch* P, in 1 Sam. 17:20 E; 10:26 E².

²⁰ The exact meaning of the word is very uncertain.

the various incidents is apparently fixed by the introduction, 5:3, which dates this section at the anointing of David over all Israel, *i. e.*, seven years after the death of Saul (*cf.* vs. 5a). Internal evidence, however, as well as the existence of several phraseological criteria, make it probable that this introduction, a twofold one (vss. 3 and 1 *sq.*), is late, and that it has proceeded from the editors who have collected and revised the several fragments which follow.²¹

When once we recognize that these introductions are due to later editors, we are able to gain a rather different, and perhaps a clearer, conception of the early history of David's reign. The few encounters between David and the Philistines which are recorded will belong to a time when David had not become king over all Israel, and apparently precede the incidents in chaps. 2-4, where we find, strangely enough, no mention of the Philistines (*cf.* also Asahel's name among David's heroes in 23:24). In these fights David has neither "host" (צבא) nor "army" (חיל) as in chap. 8 or 10, but is accompanied only by his "men" or "servants" (*cf.* 5:21; 21:15, 17).

It seems difficult (following the accepted view) to believe that David was already king of Israel when he took refuge in the "hold" (מַצְדָּה) from the Philistines who came out against him (5:17). It is more probable that David had been previously engaged in subduing the Philistines around Jerusalem at the same time as Ishbaal and Abner were fighting those who had settled in the more northerly parts of Palestine (1 Sam. 31:7). The absence of the Philistines in chaps. 2-4 may then be due to the fact that they had become a negligible quantity. David probably seized Jerusalem before he became king over Israel. In Ziklag his rule had extended over his "friends" in the Negeb, whose support it was perhaps necessary to assure with gifts (1 Sam. 30:26 *sqq.*).²² How lasting his success was we shall see when we come to consider the rebellion of Absalom.

²¹ שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל is found in J in Gen. 49:16; JE in Josh. 4:5, 8; 7:16; E in Josh. 3:12; 24:1. In Judg. 18:1; 20:2, 10; 21:8 post-exilic (Moore). Also in 1 Sam. 2:28 RP; 10:20 E²; 15:17 E; once J (7) in 1 Sam. 9:21. In 2 Samuel it occurs in 7:7; 15:2, 10; 19:10; 20:14; 24:2. For 1 Kings 8:16; 11:32 see Kuenen, § 25, note 2. הַמְּבָרָא יְהוֹמָרָא (vs. 2), *cf.* 1 Sam. 18:13 E²; רַעְיָה, here first in the metaphorical sense (*cf.* 7:7), and frequently in Jeremiah. The promise in vs. 2b is related to 1 Sam. 13:14 J²; 15:28 E; 16:1-13 (Midrash), and for יִשְׂרָאֵל (vs. 3) *cf.* above on 3:17. נָגִיד (vs. 2), however, is found only in J in 1 Samuel (9:16; 10:1; 13:14; 25:30).

²² Stade (*Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 250) suggests that the passage refers to the time immediately following Saul's death.

In Hebron, David seems to have been able to increase his power by alliances, thus gaining, doubtless, some hold over Jezreel, Carmel, and Geshur. By driving out the Philistines from the north of Judah he would be better able to devote his energies to the more northerly tribes. It would be rash to assume that the extension of his power over all Israel followed immediately after the death of Ishbaal—we can hardly suppose that there was no one to lead the north against David. The editor of chaps. 5–8 has simply attempted to thrust back the date of David's rule over the united north and south, just as the chronicler, by omitting 2 Sam., chaps. 1–4, made David's supremacy begin immediately after the death of Saul.

§ 3. *Chapters 9–12.*—The following chaps. 9–20 (together with 1 Kings, chaps. 1, 2) comprise the so-called “court history” or “family history” of David. They may easily be divided into two parts: chaps. 13–20, narrating the rebellion of Absalom and Sheba's rising; chaps. 9–12, a collection of narratives which deal with *a*) Mephibosheth (chap. 9), *b*) the circumstances attending the birth of Solomon (11:2–12:25), and *c*) the Ammonite war (chap. 10; 11:1; 12:26 *sqq.*).

In considering *a*) it will be necessary to take into account 21:1–14, which, according to Budde (pp. 256 *sq.*), should immediately precede it. It is difficult, however, to ascribe both narratives to the same writer or age. In chap. 21 David deliberately hands over seven of the sons of Saul to the Gibeonites,²³ whereas in chap. 9 this is ignored, and David, apparently unaware of their fate, has to inquire whether there are yet any of Saul's house alive. David's solicitude toward Saul's descendants is marked, and the whole motive of the chapter is David's acknowledgment of the obligation entailed by his covenant with Jonathan. Chap. 9 is obviously related, therefore, to 1 Sam. 20:15 *sqq.*, R^{JE}; cf. 18:3 E² and 24:21 R^{JE},²⁴ and we are probably justified in ascribing it to E,²⁵ to determine the source of chap. 21, on the other hand, is more difficult. The chapter seems to refer to a comparatively early period in David's history, when he was feeling his way to an extension of power, and by complying with

²³ Vs. 7 (the saving of Mephibosheth) may be a gloss (cf. Budde).

²⁴ Besides אֱלֹהִים (9:3), the use of שָׂדֶה (9:7) to denote a single field (and not “country” collectively) possibly points to E (cf. Holzinger, *Einleitung*, § 13, p. 105).

²⁵ The chapter seems to follow upon chap. 4 (cf. הָכִי יִשְׁעִיד אֲשֶׁר נָתַן 9:1), and probably belonged originally to a somewhat earlier stage in David's history.

the request of the Gibeonites may have hoped to obtain their good services. It agrees with the benevolence shown by David to Saul's house to suppose that the burial of the remains of Saul and Jonathan (vs. 12) would have been attended to at an earlier period. Whatever be its ultimate source, the narrative lies imbedded in a later frame, and shows some signs of having been worked over by a later editor.²⁶

b) The story of David's sin with Bathsheba and the birth of Solomon (11:2—12:25) is inserted in the account of a war against Rabbath-Ammon, of which it was originally independent. Our story commences abruptly with the vague notice "and it came to pass one evening." Joab and the men of Israel and Judah are besieging a certain city; its name, as well as that of the enemy, is unmentioned.²⁷ In vs. 11 יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּסִכְרֹת seems superfluous by the side of עַל-פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה הַזֶּה, and should we read with Lucian "the ark of God, and Israel and Judah," etc., we surely have a gloss.²⁸ Further, in vs. 12, David undertakes to send Uriah away on the morrow, whereas vss. 13 sq. show that the latter does not depart until the third day (on the text see Budde, *SBOT.*) David in his letter (vs. 15) orders Joab to place Uriah in a dangerous position and desert him, whereas in the continuation of the narrative he is slain along with other warriors in a general onslaught (vs. 17; cf. vs. 24). Has a glossator endeavored to minimize David's treachery? Finally, the introduction of Abimelech at the close of the chapter is hardly an apt parallel; it is not easy to see how the city was to be taken unless the army approached the wall. The story of Abimelech in Judg., chap. 9, occupies a unique position in the "History of the Judges" (see Moore, *SBOT.*, English translation), and the account of his death (vss. 42 sqq.) is due to E.²⁹

In 12:1–25 Nathan reproves David for his sin, Bathsheba becomes David's wife, and with the birth of Solomon the repentant king is restored to the divine favor. Already Schwally (*ZATW.*, Vol. XII, p. 153) has suggested that vss. 1–15a are a later insertion, but it is probable that the whole of 11:27b–12:24a, 25 has

²⁶ For expressions later than J cf. יָבֹהֶה (vs. 5), Judg. 20:5; Numb. 33:56 (P), and on נָחֳלֹת (vs. 3) see 14:16 below. For חֲזָבֵל (vs. 7, a gloss?) cf. 1 Sam. 15:3, 9, 15; Exod. 2:6 E; 1 Sam. 23:21 J(?) for 2 Sam. 12:4, 6 see below. Elsewhere Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and later.

²⁷ A name might have been expected, e. g., in vs. 17.

²⁸ Cf. the late Lev. 23:42 sq.; Neh. 8:14, 17.

²⁹ גִּבְרִי (2 Sam. 11:23) in Hexateuch only E and D.

been written to render Solomon's birth as stainless as possible.³⁰ The insertion is twofold: (α) 11:27b; 12:15-24a; (β) 12:1-15a, 25, and it is noteworthy that in (β), which is a later addition to (α), we find the only allusion to the Ammonite war (vs. 9). It is equally noteworthy that the only reference to Uriah in the historical books is found in 1 Kings 15:5, a passage whose genuineness is not free from suspicion (Kuenen, § 26, note 7).³¹

Omitting b) as a lengthy and complicated narrative artificially inserted in its present position, there remains c), a running account of the Ammonite war,³² the sequel to chap. 10. Chap. 10, compared with chap. 8, is a perfectly straightforward account of David's successes (vss. 15-19a are, however, open to suspicion). It is not our intention to analyze the account of these wars; we ask, rather, whether they could have occurred before the events related in chaps. 13-20. The hospitality with which David was received in Mahanaim (17:27 *sqq.*) has always been difficult to understand in view of the sanguinary war he had previously waged against Ammon. Instead of large armies chaps. 13 *sqq.* seem to presuppose mere bodyguards (15:18; 20:7; see below), and David does not appear to possess the authority and power which the accounts of the successful wars in chaps. 8 and 10 imply. Whatever be the source of chap. 10—and there are a few data which point to a hand later than J³³—we venture the

³⁰ 12:24b accordingly follows immediately after 11:27a.

³¹ The chronicler characteristically goes farther than the writer in 2 Samuel and makes Solomon the *youngest* of the four sons of Bathsheba (1 Chron. 3:5). That Solomon was really the *first-born* has been conjectured also (on different grounds) by Marquart, *Fundamente*, p. 28. The present writer based his conjecture on the linguistic evidences which were found in chap. 12: בִּרְמֹת (vs. 5), cf. 1 Sam. 26:16 (E); חִמְל (vs. 6), see on 21:7 above, § 3, a; "I have anointed thee" (vs. 7); cf. 1 Sam. 16:13 (Midrash); בִּזָּה (vss. 9 *sqq.*), cf. 1 Sam. 2:30 RP; 10:27 RJE; 17:42 E; חֶסֶא with חֶסֶב (vs. 13), cf. 24:10 (§ 2, a); אֶלְרִים (vs. 16); בֶּן (vs. 19), in Gen. 41:33, 39; 1 Sam. 3:8 E; once J in 1 Sam. 16:18 (so Budde); חֶלֶם (vs. 20), of garments, in Hexateuch E; בֵּית יְהוֹרָה (vs. 20), an anachronism (Reuss, Wellhausen). יְרֵחָה אֶהְיֶה (vs. 24b) is probably a gloss; observe (α) its position, (β) the order of the words, and (γ) אֶהְיֶה, with יְרֵחָה as subject, is a mark of D (Holzinger, *Einführung*, p. 284).

³² The text of 2 Sam. 12:26-29 is difficult. עִיר הַמִּים (vs. 27b) appears to be identical with עִיר הַמְּלוּכָה in 26b; both are doubtless corrupt, and Cheyne (*Expository Times*, December, 1897, pp. 143 *sqq.*) reads עִיר מִלְכָּם "city of Milcom." Vs. 28 *sq.* expressly state that the city has not yet been taken, whence it follows that vss. 26b and 27b גַּם-לְכַדְתִּי הַמִּים (etc.) must either be hopelessly corrupt or else glosses. The repetition of the notice of the destruction of Ammon (11:1; 12:31) and of the siege of Rabbah (11:1, צִר; 12:28, נִלְחָם) indicates editorial revision.

³³ רִגְל (10:3), generally E or later; cf. Budde, p. 145; חָקַר (*ibid.*), cf. Deut. 13:15; Judg. 18:2, and 1 Sam. 20:12 RJE. חֲחֹזֶק (vs. 12), cf. Numb. 13:20; 1 Sam. 4:9 E, but Gen. 48:2; 1 Sam. 30:6 J; for 3:6 cf. § 1, b) above. כָּלֶם (vs. 5), cf. Numb. 12:14 E, but 1 Sam. 20:34; 25:7, 15 E; in Judg. 18:7 corrupt. נִקְרָא שֵׁם (12:28), cf. Gen. 48:16 E; 2 Sam. 6:2 (later than J? See § 2, a).

suggestion that, chronologically, the wars of David should follow, and not precede, the events related in chaps. 13–20. Further support for this will be pointed out below.

§ 4. *Chapters 13–19: The history of Absalom.*—Chaps. 13 *sqq.* deal with the revolt of Absalom and, in their present position, are closely connected with the account of Sheba's short-lived rising. Chaps. 13, 14 form an introduction to the following chapters (15 *sqq.*), of which, with the solitary exception of the reference in 15:8 to Geshur (*cf.* 13:37 *sq.*; 14:23, 32), they are virtually independent.

a) In chap. 13 the use of **התחלה** in a twofold sense (vs. 2, he fell sick; vs. 6, he feigned himself sick) and the occurrence of **חכם** (more frequently E and later; see below) and **יָלַל** (see on 3:1, above) would suggest that vss. 3–6a, which tend to throw part of the guilt of Absalom's crime upon Jonadab, are secondary; in vs. 32 Jonadab is introduced as a new character. The closing verses have clearly suffered some transposition: vss. 34a, 37a, 38a (the flight of Absalom) are parallels, but Klostermann in the first would read **וַיִּתֵּר אַחֲרָיו שָׁלוֹם** (connecting with vs. 33). Vs. 38a is an insertion, the correct order being: vss. 36, 37b, 37a, 38b, 39 (Wellhausen, Driver, Budde), and it is difficult, therefore, to avoid suspecting the genuineness of the chronological note, vs. 38b, which may have been a marginal note. Chap. 14 betrays the hand of a later scribe, but there is no sign of any legal regulation for blood-revenge, and the chapter may be pre-deuteronomic.³⁴ Vss. 25–27 are recognized glosses, but since vs. 28b = vs. 24b, it is probable that vs. 28 is equally intrusive. The construction **שְׁנֵתִים יָמִים** (*ibid.*) may point to E; *cf.* Gen. 41:1 (E). In the closing verses we may again find traces of E in

³⁴ **חכם** (vs. 2), old in Deut. 32:6, 29; Judg. 5:29; doubtful in Exod. 1:10; in Gen. 41:33, 39 E, elsewhere D (Deut. 1:13, 15; 4:6; 16:19), and in poetry; *cf.* also 1 Kings 2:9 (§ 7, c); 5:11, and for 2 Samuel *cf.* 14:20 and 20:16. **חֲכָמָה**, 1 Kings 2:6; Deut. 4:6; 34:9 (elsewhere in Hexateuch P); for 2 Samuel *cf.* 14:20; 20:22. **נָאֵל הָדָם** (vs. 11), in Hexateuch D and P. **עַם אֱלֹהִים**, *cf.* Judg. 20:2 (post-exilic), and note the constant use of **אֱלֹהִים** throughout this chapter. **נָחֳלַת אֱלֹהִים** (vs. 16), *cf.* **יְהוָה**, 1 Sam. 25:19 E; *cf.* also 2 Sam. 20:19; 21:3. **מִלְאָךְ הָאֱלֹהִים** (vs. 17), J in Judg. 13:6, 9; 1 Sam. 29:9; for 2 Sam. 19:28 see § 6, a); in Hexateuch E. **יְהוָה**, J in Gen. 16:7, 11, but Exod. 3:2; Numb. 22:22 *sqq.* doubtful; E³ in Gen. 22:11, *ibid.* 15 R³. Other old passages are Judg. 2:1a; 5:23; 6:11 *sq.*; 13:3, 13, 15 *sqq.*; for 2 Sam. 24:16 see above, § 2, b). **מִדְּבָר** (vs. 13), *cf.* the similar form in Numb. 7:39 (P); Ezek. 2:2; 43:6. **אָשָׁם** (*ibid.*), *cf.* Gen. 42:21 E. **יָרָא** (vs. 15), in Piel; *cf.* 2 Chron. 32:18; Neh. 6:9, 14. **שָׁמָּה** (*ibid.*), in Hexateuch E. **שָׁמָּה** (vss. 12, 15, 17) is indeed a sign of J, but its genuineness is not free from doubt, since LXX in vs. 17 presupposes **אָשָׁם**; see Wellhausen, *Die Bücher Samuelis*, *ad loc.* Vss. 15–17 carry the woman back to her plea on behalf of her boy and should perhaps come between vss. 7 and 8. **דָּרַךְ נִמְשָׁד** (vs. 19), *cf.* 1 Sam. 1:26 (E³); 17:55 (E). **הַמִּין וְהַשְּׂמִיל** (vs. 19); *cf.* D's **סוּר יִמִּין וְשִׂמָּאל** (Driver, *Introduction*, p. 101, note 30).

חלקה (vs. 30; see above on 2:16), and in the construction of נשק with ל (cf. Holzinger, *Einleitung*, p. 107). For vs. 32b cf. 1 Sam. 20:8 (R^{JE}).

b) The remaining chapters (15 *sqq.*) proceed with the account of the revolt. Absalom steals the hearts of all Israel (15:6) and four years later (vs. 7, LXX) raises the standard in Hebron. At the trumpet-call he is to be proclaimed king. Gradually the men of Israel fall away to him, and David, accompanied only by the Cherethites, Pelethites, and 600 Gittites, is forced to flee. Absalom and all Israel come to Jerusalem (16:15), and a council of war is held with the elders (cf. 17:4, 14a). David is informed of their plans and hurriedly crosses over the Jordan to Mahanaim (17:22, 24). A fight ensues, Absalom is killed, and all Israel return to their homes (18:17b; cf. 19:9b). All the tribes are in confusion, and finally David, by offering to Amasa (Absalom's general) the post held by Joab, becomes reconciled with Judah, who come to meet him at Gilgal (19:12-16). David now realizes that he is king over Israel (vs. 23). A quarrel, however, has sprung up between Israel and Judah (vss. 42-44), which culminates in the revolt of the Benjamite Sheba (chap. 20). All Israel follow him, and Judah alone remain faithful to the king. But the Benjamite is put to flight, and the rising is speedily quelled by Joab (20:22).

The events in chaps. 15-20, as the above brief outline shows, do not by any means give the impression that David was then king over all Israel. If Absalom had all Israel on his side, it is difficult to see how David could collect a force strong enough to meet him. Surely he would have been easily defeated. It seems not improbable, therefore, that the revolt has been exaggerated, and that it was Judah alone which took part in the rebellion.³⁵ This view is clearly suggested in 19:12 *sqq.*, and finds support in the fact that the two leading men in Absalom's rebellion were men of Judah. Amasa was a Jezreelite (Jezreel in Judah; see Marquart, *Fundamente*, p. 24, after 17:25, Lucian), and Ahithophel belonged to the south Judean town of Giloh. Further support is to be found in the choice of Hebron as the meeting-place of the rebels. Had "all Israel" shared in the revolt, we should have looked for the rallying-place in Benjamin, or even in a more

³⁵ Similarly, e. g., Sayce, *The Early History of the Hebrews*, pp. 429 *sq.* On the part played by Benjamin in this revolt see § 6.

northerly site, whereas for Judah the old capital would not unnaturally form the most suitable center.

The land of Geshur, whither Absalom fled, was the home of his mother Maacah, and, as we have already seen (see above, § 2, c), was situated to the south of Philistine territory ("in Aram," 15:8, is a gloss). It is perhaps permissible to identify his mother with the Maacah whose son Achish received David at Gath.³⁶

The tribe of Judah was largely composed of Calebites, Jerahmeelites, and other non-Israelite peoples of the Negeb (cf. 1 Chron., chap. 2, and see Wellhausen, *De Gentibus*, etc.), and does not appear to have become prominent before David's time. In Hebron David would be easily able to retain firm hold upon these clans, with some of whom he was allied by marriage,³⁷ and it follows that it would not be until his removal to Jerusalem that any suitable opportunity for revolt would present itself to them.

c) Supported by the chronological notices which are found, the revolt is placed in the last decade of David's reign (cf. Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 284, note 1; Kittel, Vol. II, p. 175, note). These notices are four in number. In the first (13:23a) the expression לַשְׁנָיִם יָמִים (two years, i. e., after the outrage upon Tamar) may point to E (Gen. 41:1). For 13:38b (Absalom in Geshur two years) and 14:28a (Absalom in Jerusalem two years) see above, *ad loc.* The fourth is 15:7a, which states that four (so LXX) years elapsed between the time when Absalom *openly* revolted (by preparing his fifty chariots and men) and his departure to Hebron. Although these doubtless rest upon some (late?) chronological scheme,³⁸ they cannot be unreservedly accepted in our narrative. The general tenor of the chapters supports a date previous to the great campaigns in chaps. 8 and 10 (cf. above, § 2, c), and it is preferable to place the revolt shortly after David

³⁶ Maacah recurs as the name of a concubine of Caleb (1 Chron. 2:48), and Tamar (Absalom's sister) is the name of a town in the south of Palestine (Ezek. 48:28). Talmi (Absalom's grandfather) is also the name borne by a Hebronite giant whom Caleb expelled (Josh. 15:14), and David himself, according to Winckler, was a Calebite. It is possible, moreover, that the names of the other Hebronite giants, Sheshai and Ahiman, are identical with the Jerahmeelite Sheshan and Ahban (שֶׁשַׁי אַחִימָן = שֶׁשַׁן אַחְבָּן) in 1 Chron. 2:29, 31.

³⁷ For David's attitude to others cf. § 2, d).

³⁸ If, in the present arrangement of the MT, Tamar's outrage occurred shortly after the birth of Solomon, and the events in 1 Kings, chap. 1, were referred to the year after Absalom's revolt, it is conceivable that this scheme rests upon an old tradition that Solomon was twelve years old when he came to the throne; cf. Nestle (*ZATW.*, Vol. II, p. 312), who, instead of the four years in 15:7, reckons the three in 21:1, and the one implied in 24:8; see also Kaufmann, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 135. If we prefer to reckon the four years in 15:7, it would appear that this scheme ignores chaps. 21-24.

had settled in Jerusalem. It was possibly this very action which caused or encouraged the rising. A close examination of the chapters comprising this section will show that the narrative bears several traces of later revision. A tendency to include in the revolt the northern tribes (under the designation "Israel") may be especially noticed.

d) Chap. 15 narrates the commencement of Absalom's revolt. He prepares a chariot and horses and fifty men to run behind him (vs. 1). He secretly gains the hearts of all the men of Israel who come to Jerusalem for justice by alleging that there is none to hear their cause (vss. 2-6). Finally he obtains permission from David to go to Hebron, and prepares for revolt (vss. 7 sqq.). Now, vs. 1 compared with 1 Kings 1:5 shows that Absalom's deed was in itself a sign of *open* revolt, whereas vss. 2-6 represent the preparations as *gradual*. The latter, however, includes "Israel" in the revolt (cf. vss. 2b, 6), and may, therefore, be secondary, perhaps E (גִּבּוֹר לֵב, vs. 6; cf. Gen. 31:20 E). Again, vs. 7 ("and Absalom said," etc.) reads like another account of the commencement of the revolt,³⁹ and may be older than vs. 1. It is hardly likely that Absalom would have been able to depart for Hebron after openly revolting, and it is possible that vs. 1 has been derived from 1 Kings 1:5. The notice of the sending of the spies throughout all Israel in vs. 10 is probably also due to E; for the characteristic מְרַגְלִים see on 10:3 above (§ 3, c), note). The narrative continues with the flight of David and the interview with Ittai the Gittite (vs. 19, נָכַרִי in Hexateuch E and D). The passage relating the meeting with Zadok and Abiathar is twofold, and appears to be fragmentary: (1) the ark is brought to David, but is sent back (vss. 24-26, 29); (2) the priests, accompanied by their sons (vs. 27, "your two sons with you"), are told to return to Jerusalem, and David undertakes to tarry at the fords until tidings reach him. It is quite conceivable that (1) has been introduced by a later editor unable to see how Zadok and Abiathar could be mentioned apart from the ark.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the close relation between vss. 23a and 30b, and the fact that in vs. 23b (Lucian) the people are passing before the king along the way to the "Olive," at which, according to vs. 18b (cf. LXX, and on the text see Wellhausen,

³⁹ The chronological notice (vs. 1a) may be an insertion in accordance with the scheme referred to above.

⁴⁰ We must also admit the existence of glosses; cf. Wellhausen, Budde, *ad loc.*

Driver, *ad loc.*), they had already arrived, makes it probable that the whole passage has been loosely inserted. The order of the names of the priests may be noticed; Abiathar was in reality the older priest, and Zadok did not attain priority until after Solomon's accession (*cf.* 1 Kings 2:35).

David then goes up by the ascent of the "Olive" and hears of Ahithophel's treachery (vs. 31; for סכל *cf.* on 24:10 above, § 2, *a*), note). He commissions Hushai to pervert the counsel of the Gilonite and tells him "whatsoever thou shalt hear out of the king's house, thou shalt tell it to Zadok and Abiathar the priests" (vs. 35). The latter by means of their sons will keep David informed (vs. 36; *cf.* vs. 27). Passing over for the present the interviews with Ziba and Shimei (16:1-14), we find Absalom and Ahithophel in Jerusalem (16:15), where they meet Hushai, who is able to explain away his apparent faithlessness to David (vss. 16 *sqq.*). Hushai is designated the "Archite" (אַרְכִי), an ethnic of uncertain origin, possibly derived from some locality in the Negeb. His title "friend of David" (רֵעֵה דָוִד) is not clear; it was perhaps used generally of David's south Judean clients or associates (*cf.* 1 Sam. 30:26*a*).⁴¹ In vs. 17 רֵעֵה is employed in its ordinary sense (David is Hushai's רֵעֵה): the writer of this verse was apparently unaware of its use as a title, and when in the following verse Hushai speaks of Absalom's seizure of the throne as the choice of Yahweh and "all the men of Israel," it is difficult to avoid seeing in vss. 17 *sq.* a redactional insertion.

e) Chaps. 16:20—17:23 narrate the advice given by Ahithophel and Hushai. That of the former is twofold. His first counsel (vss. 21-23), to which reference is made in the late 12:11 *sqq.*,⁴² was acted upon by Absalom. The incident, however, must be taken in connection with 15:16 and 20:3, the necessary notices of the wives and concubines left behind in Jerusalem. Now, neither of these belongs to the original narrative. The former is obviously a gloss (observe 15:17*a* = 16*a*); on the latter see below, § 5, *a*); and the use of דָּלִיָּד and עֶזֶב in both suggests E (*cf.* Judg. 2:21—3:1, and see Budde, p. 158). In fact, Ahithophel's first counsel

⁴¹ In Gen. 26:26 (J) "friend" is the title of an officer of Abimelech the Gerarite; similarly in 1 Kings 4:5 it appears to have a purely official application.

⁴² Chap. 12:7 *sq.*, 10-12 is the only passage which could make us place the narrative of David and Bathsheba before the revolt. In all probability it should belong later, toward the close of David's life.

is wholly independent of the context and may be safely omitted from the oldest form of the narrative.

The story of Ahithophel's second counsel (17:1-4),⁴² and the manner in which it is perverted by Hushai (vss. 5 *sqq.*), is particularly complicated and difficult. Ahithophel advises prompt action. David has but few men with him, and if he is killed these will return to Absalom "like a bride returneth to her husband" (vs. 3, LXX). This advice is politic and consistent, but is frustrated by Hushai, who counsels delay, with the result that Ahithophel in despair goes to his home and hangs himself (vs. 23). It would appear that Hushai wished to give David an opportunity of strengthening his power, although one fails to see how David could hope to do this, especially as he takes refuge in Ammon, which, according to the received view, he had formerly decimated. Hushai counsels Absalom to gather Israel from "Dan to Beersheba" (vs. 11; cf. above on 3:10, § 1, b), but Absalom has already gained over all the people (cf. 16:15; 17:14, 24). If Hushai's advice had been preferred, it must have been acted upon after Absalom had crossed the Jordan, since from vs. 24 it appears that the latter was in close pursuit of David. Finally, in spite of Ahithophel's defeat, the fact remains that Hushai's counsel need never have been given. It is not alluded to in vs. 21, and, notwithstanding the approval of Absalom and "all the men of Israel" (vs. 14), it does not appear to have been followed: vs. 21, indeed, clearly showing that it was upon hearing Ahithophel's advice, and that alone, that David fled across the Jordan. Several less important difficulties and inconcinnities are found in the account of the spies, vss. 15-20. In vss. 15, 16 Hushai tells the priests of the advice tendered by Ahithophel and himself. The scene suddenly shifts to En-rogel, where Jonathan and Ahimaaz are in regular communication with David (vs. 17, the tenses are frequentative). This implies that vss. 17 and 15 *sq.* are not from the same hand, or that there is a lacuna between vss. 16 and 17. Again, in vs. 20a Absalom's servants know at once where the spies are concealed, which suggests that the scene is still laid at En-Rogel. Possibly two traditions have been combined; the one placed the spies and the well at a woman's house in En-Rogel, the other at a man's house in Bahurim.

⁴² The "moreover" of 17:1 EV is misleading.

From a consideration of the difficulties in 16:20—17:23 it is probable that we may discover three strands in the narrative: (a) Ahithophel counsels immediate action; the spies hear of this and tell David, who at once crosses the Jordan (16:20(?); 17:1-4 . . . 17-22); (β) a later hand has told how Ahithophel's advice was frustrated by Hushai (17:5-14, 23); finally there has been added (γ) the nefarious advice of Ahithophel (16:21-23), the writer of which is no doubt responsible for those passages with which it is so closely connected (see above). Of the three (a) is doubtless the oldest, and to the editor who inserted (β) we owe the harmonizing link 17:15, 16, and probably also 15:27, 28, 35, 36. It is not impossible even that he is also the author of 15:31-34; 16:16-19.

f) The conclusion of the chapter narrates David's arrival in Mahanaim and his hospitable reception at the hands of Shobi, Machir, and Barzillai (17:24-29; with 29b cf. 16:2b). Absalom passes over the Jordan and makes Amasa "captain of the host" in the place of Joab (17:25a; cf. 1 Kings 2:32). The latter statement is intelligible only on the assumption that there existed at this time an "army" or "host" (צבא), such as is mentioned in the account of the great wars (chaps. 8, 10), and that Absalom had control over it; in other words, that all Israel was on his side.

It has always been difficult to understand David's favorable reception among the Ammonites, whom, according to the MT arrangement of 2 Samuel, he had previously crushed. It is precarious to base any argument of relationship upon the fact that Nahash appears both as an Ammonite and Judean name (2 Sam. 10:2; 17:25b), since in the latter passage the correct reading is no doubt "Jesse" (see Klostermann, *ad loc.*). Of the three names mentioned in 17:27 that of Shobi (ben Nahash) alone is unknown. Now, the omission of the verb after "Mahanaim" makes the verse unbearably heavy,⁴⁴ and in accordance with Hebrew idiom one expects in place of וּשְׁבִי a verb in the imperfect with *waw* consecutive. For "and Shobi ben Nahash" (וּשְׁבִי בֶן נַחֲשׁ) should we not read "and Nahash . . . brought" (וַיָּבִיאוּ נַחֲשׁ בֶן . . .)? בֶּן was inserted before נַחֲשׁ to make sense after וַיָּבִיאוּ had become corrupted to וּשְׁבִי. This Nahash of Rabbah is the king mentioned in 10:1 sq., a chapter which has

⁴⁴ Budde, *SBOT.*, and others read וַיָּבִיאוּ at the beginning of vs. 28, but the construction is still awkward; for a parallel cf. the late 2 Chron. 31:6.

been taken (on other grounds) to refer to a time following the revolt of Absalom; and we are now able to understand the nature of the kindness which Hanun's father had shown to David, and which the latter was so eager to repay.

g) Chap. 18 narrates the fight between Absalom and David. The army of the latter, according to Josephus (*Antiquities*, vii, 10, 1), numbered 4,000 men, which from its extreme moderation invites confidence (cf. Mez, *Josephus*, p. 76). With the exception of vs. 6-8 the chapter hangs round Absalom. Here the wood in which Absalom met his death becomes one which causes the loss of more men than the battle itself. Its name is variously given as the "wood of Ephraim" (MT) or "Mahanaim" (Luc.); Josephus, on the other hand, locates the fight in the Great Plain (cf. vs. 23b). It was probably wanting in the original narrative, and in vs. 6b we should read simply בִּיעַר; cf. Budde, *SBOT.*, *ad loc.*

Absalom's death is ascribed in vs. 14 to Joab, but in vs. 15 to Joab's armor-bearers. It is difficult to evade this inconsistency, since the statement in vs. 15 is clear and precise (יְהוֹבִיָּת, not מוֹתָר as in 1:10), and it is at least remarkable that neither here nor in David's final charge to Solomon (1 Kings, chap. 2) is there anything to support vs. 14. It is difficult to treat vs. 15 as a gloss, and if we bear in mind such passages as 3:29, 39; 16:10, etc., which are filled with bitterness against Joab, it becomes easier to suppose that vs. 15 is original, and that vs. 14 represents a later polemical tradition.

The latter part of the chapter tells how the news of Absalom's death reached David. Of יְהוֹבִיָּת "the Cushite" we know nothing, unless the name be an old error for חוּשִׁי "Hushai." "Cush" may very probably refer to the Arabian tribe of that name, and the Cushite bearer of bad tidings finds a parallel in the Amalekite of chap. 1.

In chap. 19 David, mourning the fate of his favorite son, is persuaded to show himself to his people. Vss. 9b-11, 12b⁴⁶ are an insertion to magnify the size of the rebellion; note the mention of "Israel" in vs. 9b (cf. 18:17b), and נִדָּן, vs. 10 (the verb in Hexateuch only E). David sends to Zadok and Abiathar to persuade the elders of Judah to recall him, and by offering to Amasa the position formerly held by Joab is ultimately reconciled.

⁴⁶ Vs. 12b is misplaced and should follow immediately upon vs. 11.

to his subjects. Now Amasa is expressly associated with Judah (*cf.* 1 Kings 2:32), and seems to have possessed considerable influence over the tribe; and unless we are to suppose that David had already become king over the northern tribes, his offer is equivalent to investing him with a post which he already held.

The rebellion has now ended, the men of Judah come to Gilgal, and David returns to the Jordan (*vs.* 16). The rest of the chapter is taken up with David's interviews with Shimei, Mephibosheth, and Barzillai, and ends with the commencement of Sheba's rising.

§ 5, *Chapters 19:41—20:22: Sheba's revolt.*—*a)* When Judah had become reconciled with David and had come to conduct the king over the Jordan, only half Israel accompanied them (19:41). A certain ill-feeling had sprung up between the North and South which culminated in the revolt of Sheba the Bichrite.⁴⁶ He is followed by all Israel, and Judah alone, "from the Jordan to Jerusalem,"⁴⁷ remains faithful to David. David returns to Jerusalem and sends Amasa to collect the men of Judah (19:42—20:4). Such is the commencement of the new revolt. It presents an entirely new situation, which does not harmonize with the impression left after the reconciliation of David with his people. It presupposes a wholly different disruption, and one, indeed, which is scarcely credible when we recollect the eager longing expressed by Israel for the return of David (19:12). It is highly probable that here again the size of the revolt has been magnified and that from the LXX of 20:14 we may obtain a more intelligible idea of the size of Sheba's following. From this verse we learn that Sheba was attended only by his clansmen, the Bichrites (*cf.* Driver, *ad loc.*), a representation which is in obvious harmony with the continuation of the story in *vss.* 15 *sqq.* Here Sheba with his small following is put to flight and finds refuge in Abel-beth-Maacah. The city is besieged by Joab, and to save themselves the inhabitants cut off Sheba's head. Thus the short-lived rebellion ceases and Joab returns in victory to the king (20:22). The chapter ends with a (misplaced) list of officers almost identical with that in 8:16 *sqq.*; see above, § 2, *c*).

⁴⁶ It is a very probable conjecture that Saul also belonged to the Bichrites (in 1 Sam. 10:21 read בכרי for מיכרי, and *cf.* Marquart, *Fundamente*, p. 14). The only other Benjamite clan-name mentioned in Samuel is Gera, to which belonged the well-known Shimei.

⁴⁷ The "Jordan" seems to represent a river on the south border of Judah; *cf.* Winckler, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 174, note 2.

Now, vss. 14-22 form a continuous and straightforward account of the end of Sheba's revolt, and in all probability may be assigned to E.⁴⁸ The original commencement, on the other hand, can with difficulty be determined, inasmuch as there are several signs of redaction and insertion. A trace of this is seen, for example, in the artificial "half Israel" in 19:41b, and in the "ten (or eleven, Josephus, *Antiquities*, VII, 11:5) parts," 19:44, an obvious reference to the tribes that fell away under Jeroboam. The idea that "Joseph" is first-born rather than "Judah" (vs. 44; for text cf. *SBOT*.) is naturally Ephraimite (cf. Gen., chap. 48; 1 Chron. 5:1 sq.). Chap. 20:1b and 2b are almost identical with 1 Kings 12:16, 20b, and the writer seems to have in his mind a recollection of the separation of the two kingdoms. In fact, the account of Sheba's rising has been artificially affixed to the close of the revolt of Absalom, and the hand of the redactor who is responsible for this is to be seen again in the statement that David returned to Jerusalem (vs. 3a),⁴⁹ and explains the inconsistency between 19:41 sq. (Judah with David), and 20:4 (Amasa collects Judah). If Sheba revolted when David was at Gilgal, why was it necessary to collect the men of Judah who were already with David, and why should David return to Jerusalem? If, on the other hand, Sheba's rising was quite independent of Absalom's revolt, and occurred when David was in Jerusalem, the summoning of Judah is quite intelligible.

b) The confused state of the commencement of the revolt is self-evident. In vss. 4 sq. Amasa is sent to collect Judah in three days, but stays beyond the time allotted. Abishai is sent in pursuit of Sheba, and is accompanied by Joab (vss. 6 sq.; in vs. 7a read **וַיֵּצֵאוּ אַחֲרָיו אֲבִישַׁי** with Budde, *SBOT*.), the Cherethites and Pelethites. Vss. 8 sqq. deal with the murder of Amasa, whom we find, strangely enough, in Gibeon. The account of Amasa's murder (vss. 8-10a, 11-13a) is scarcely original in its present position; one may note the reiterations (vss. 7b, 10b, 13b) which

⁴⁸ קָהַל (vs. 14b K^{ri}) in Hexateuch D (Deut. 4:10; 31:12) and P, but once E in Exod. 32:1 (קָהַל J in Gen. 49:6; Numb. 22:4, but E in Numb. 16:33; 20:4). שִׁבְעֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (*ibid.*), cf. 5:1 above, § 2, d). חֲקָקָה (vs. 16), see on 18:3 (§ 4, a). אָמָרָה (vs. 17) E, cf. Holsinger, *Einführung*, p. 183. נָחֲלָה יְהוּדָה (vs. 19), see 1 Sam. 26:19 (E); 2 Sam. 14:16 (§ 4a); 21:3 (§ 3a). On vs. 19 cf. Deut. 20:10 sq. In vs. 14 we should possibly transpose and read "and all the Bichrites gathered together and came after him, and they went through all the tribes," etc. Vs. 15 does not follow immediately upon vs. 14. In the latter the subject to the verb is "the Bichrites;" in vs. 15a it is obviously Joab and his followers.

⁴⁹ The rest of the verse is also due to an editor; cf. above on 16:15 sqq., § 3, e). כִּלְכֵּל "to nourish" is peculiar to E in the Hexateuch (Gen. 45:11; 47:12; 50:21).

remain when it is omitted, and the harmonizing link vs. 11. It is, nevertheless, not impossible that there may have been an independent story of Amasa (J?), and fragments of it may be preserved in Lucian's version of 20:7a ("and Amasa collected all the people"), but his association with Sheba's revolt is hardly genuine.

In vs. 6 for "Abishai" the Peshitta, followed by many critics, reads "Joab."⁵⁰ Budde (*SBOT.*), however, supports the MT. By charging Abishai, he observes, David is sure that Joab will not remain behind, and the fact that Joab soon takes the leadership into his own hands follows as a matter of course. But, as Driver, *Samuel, ad loc.*, points out, we need a preparation for Joab's mention in vs. 8. Joab alone is opposed to Sheba in the continuation of the narrative, and so it must have stood in the original narrative before it had been affixed to the story of Absalom's revolt. The redactor, however, was obliged to remove Joab's name in view of the preceding 19:14b, and possibly, too, introduced the account of Amasa's death in order to explain his absence in vss. 14 *sqq.* The emended אֲחִיזַי אֲבִישַׁי in vs. 7a (see above) is a redactional gloss, as also is אֲחִיזַי אֲבִישַׁי in vs. 10. The resemblance which vs. 10b bears to 2:24a leads to the discovery of several points of contact between the story of Amasa and Sheba in chap. 20 and that of Abner and Ishbaal in chap. 2. Both Abner and Sheba are followed by Benjamin (2:25; 20:14). The murders of Asahel and Amasa are narrated in very similar terms (2:23 *sq.*; 20:10a, 12, 13a). Gibeon recurs in each (2:12 *sq.*; 20:8); and the end of the war is similarly described (2:28; 20:22b). Hence it is possible that the same redactor has worked at both chaps. 2 *sq.* and 20. Amasa and Abner are to a certain extent parallel characters, the former "captain of the host of Judah," the latter "captain of the host of Israel;" each possessed considerable influence, and, though separated from one another by a score of years, in the received chronology are mentioned together in 1 Kings 2:5, 32 (the same redactor here?).

c) It is not easy to fix the approximate date of Sheba's revolt, more especially since Amasa's connection with it is a later feature. At all events, the northern tribes are treated with leniency, and, as Winckler has observed, do not yet appear to be under David's

⁵⁰ Lucian: ἀμασα, i. e., "Amasa."

sway—in other words, David has not yet become king over all Israel (*Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 174).

Since reason has been found for separating the narratives of Absalom and Sheba, it is useful to observe where Absalom's revolt ceases in the present MT. It must be one of the two closely related verses, 19:16 or 41, where Judah has come to escort David over the Jordan. It can hardly be the latter, however, since this is due to the redactor who is preparing the way for the introduction of Sheba's revolt. The narrative, accordingly, ends abruptly in 19:16 with the short notice of the arrival of the men of Judah at Gilgal. May it be conjectured that a writer concluded with the description of some such solemn festival or renewal of the kingdom as is mentioned in 1 Sam. 11:14 *sq.* (also at Gilgal)?

Of more importance for our present purpose is the corollary that the interviews in 19:17 *sqq.* do not belong to the original account of Absalom's revolt. This is the more suggestive since the corresponding interviews in chap. 16 also show traces of having been inserted; *cf.* the doublets 15:37⁵¹ (Lucian adds "and Ahithophel with him") and 16:15.

§ 6. *The interviews in chaps. 16, 19.*—The interviews in question deal with Ziba, Meribbaal, Shimei, and Barzillai, all Benjamites, with the exception of the last-named, and closely related to the house of Saul.

a) The passages in 2 Samuel which refer to Meribbaal the son of Jonathan, and Ziba his servant, comprise chaps. 9 (and 4:4); 16:1–4; 19:25–31 (in 19:18^a the mention of Ziba is due to a gloss), and 21:7 (gloss; see above § 8, a). These mutually related passages are independent of the rest of the book. In 16:1 David leaves Hushai and meets Ziba at the top of the "Olive." Meribbaal, he is told, is remaining in Jerusalem in the hope that the "house of Israel" (vs. 3b; *cf.* on 1:12) would restore to him his father's kingdom. It is proper to ask whether the Benjamite claimant would expect to find support by remaining in Jerusalem. It is difficult to understand what interests Judah and Benjamin may have shared, and unlikely as any conjoint action would be toward the close of David's reign, it becomes almost impossible if we are right in dating the revolt soon after David settled in Jerusalem. Would Absalom tolerate a rival in

⁵¹ Where "city" in a = "Jerusalem" in b.

the shape of another claimant, or did he hope to conciliate Benjamin and thus obtain a free hand in his own plans, which, we have concluded, were with Judah alone? No adequate explanation seems possible. In 19:25–31 Meribbaal comes to meet David at the Jordan, and is able to find an excuse for his apparent treachery. But David is only half convinced, and his estate is divided with his servant.⁵² Whatever be its true origin, this passage at all events is hardly in its original position. In fact, it seems not improbable that, like chap. 9, the scene was originally laid in Jerusalem. This is still represented in the LXX of vs. 26, where Meribbaal comes to David “to Jerusalem” (so also Lucian; MT simply ירושלם, for which most critics read “בִּירֵךְ”, see Driver, *ad loc.*);⁵³ and again in 25b Lucian rightly reads “until the day he came in peace to Jerusalem.” The changes in the MT were rendered necessary when the passage was inserted in its present position.

b) The interviews with Shimei are of greater importance. In 16:5 *sqq.* Shimei encounters David at Bahurim, and follows him with curses. His words in 8a are clearly a reference to the slaughter of Saul’s sons by the Gibeonites, 21:1–14, on which passage see § 3, a). His attitude, on the other hand, is unintelligible. Is his the language one would expect from a Benjamite? Would not Absalom be as distasteful a king as David had been? Why was not Shimei supporting Meribbaal in his endeavor to recover the throne of his father? After David’s victory Shimei with a thousand Benjamites joins the men of Judah and meets the king “as he was about to pass the Jordan” (19:17 *sqq.*). In the interview which follows one may note especially vs. 22 *sqq.*, the familiar reproach addressed to the sons of Zeruiah (*cf.* 3:28 *sq.*, 39; 16:10), and vs. 23b, where David seems to realize, as it were for the first time, that he is king over Israel.⁵⁴ May not Shimei’s curse and subsequent confession have been written in view of David’s treatment of the sons of Saul (2 Sam., chap.

⁵² For מלאך האלהים (19:28) *cf.* on 14:17 above, § 4, a). רִנָּל (*ibid.*) E; see Budde, p. 145.

⁵³ Josephus, too, states that when the ambassadors came to David he went to Jerusalem (*Antiquities*, VII, 11:2). *Cf.* also vs. 31b: “unto his own house.”

⁵⁴ Note also לעמור (16:13), a late expression. Its repetition is quite unnecessary, and may have arisen from a corruption of the place-name which is needed in vs. 14. אִישׁ (16:7) is found only in Psalms and Proverbs. וְעָרָה (19:20), *cf.* 24:17 above, § 2, a), and note that in 1 Kings 8:47 the passage has been worked over by D²; see Kuenen, § 25, note 2. “Anointed of Yahweh” (19:22), see on 1:14; and for David’s words 19:23b see 1 Sam. 11:13 R².

21), and may it not find an analogy in the tradition wherein David's sin with Bathsheba is atoned by the death of the son (see above, § 3, b)? But although we suspect that the interviews with Shimei are, in their present form at least, later than J (due to R^{JE}?), there is no doubt some genuine tradition in the person of this Benjamite. It is impossible to conjecture with much confidence what this may have been. Was Shimei at the head of some revolt against David? At all events the size of his following sufficiently indicates his power (2 Sam. 19:18).⁵⁵ The mention of the "wood of Ephraim" (18:6), apparently to the east of Jordan, has caused suspicion, and Reuss has suggested, accordingly, that we may find traces of a combination of two narratives, in which case it would be natural to connect the revolt of Absalom with the one, and that of Shimei with the other. Finally, it may be noticed that the wording of 1 Kings 2:8 compared with *ibid.* vs. 7b suggests that David's journey to Mahanaim and his flight from Absalom were not on the same occasion.⁵⁶

c) Lastly, we have the interview with Barzillai the Gileadite. In 2 Sam. 17:27 he appears to be in some way associated with the unknown Rogelim. Now in vs. 28 the LXX read *καὶ ἀμφιδέπους* (*i. e.*, מְרַבְדִּים; see Driver, Budde, etc.) after מִשְׁכֵּב. This is supported by Lucian's *ἐκ πακαβευ*, which appears to be a misreading of מְרַבְדִּים (read as מְרַכְבִּים), and a still more corrupt form, it may be conjectured, is to be seen in מְרַגְלִים (MT, "from Rogelim"), which was erroneously removed to the end of vs. 27 after it had become corrupt.⁵⁷ The writer of 19:32 *sqq.* has simply perpetuated the error which he found before him, and that he belonged to E may be conjectured from his use of כָּלֵב, vs. 34 (see on 20:3 above, § 5, a). In common with the rest of these interviews the presence of *c* is with great probability to be ascribed to R^{JE}.

§ 7, 1 Kings, chaps. 1, 2: the conclusion of the history of David.—In chap. 1 we have the account of a palace intrigue which

⁵⁵ One observes that the tribes of Geba and Bichri, to which Shimei and Sheba, respectively, belonged, are the only Benjamite clans mentioned in Samuel. The names of these Benjamites are sufficiently similar to lead to the suggestion that some confusion has taken place.

⁵⁶ Hence one is tempted to find in עֲמָתָר (16:13), "Amathus," which was on the way from Jerusalem to Mahanaim. It is unmentioned in the Old Testament. The Jerus. Talm. identifies with Zaphon Josh. 13:27; Judg. 12:1, against which see Buhl, *Geogr. Paläst.*, p. 259.

⁵⁷ מְרַבְדִּים, accordingly, has been corrupted to מְרַגְלִים (MT), and מְרַכְבִּים (Lucian). An intermediate form of the corruption is to be seen in the Peshitta, which read מְבַלִּים.

culminates in the accession of Solomon to the throne. The fragmentary nature of the narrative is evident from the unintelligible reference to Shimei and Rei in vs. 8, and difficulties have been found in Nathan's zeal for Bathsheba, in his title "the prophet," and in the account of Solomon's anointing; see Stade, *ZATW.*, Vol. III, pp. 186 sq.; Schwally, *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 153. It is possible, however, from the double entrance of Bathsheba (vss. 15, 28) and Nathan (vss. 22, 32), that vss. 11-14 and 28-31, which record Nathan's zeal for Bathsheba, are secondary (see below). Moreover, the chapter seems to have undergone some redaction toward the end. Vs. 47b can scarcely belong to Adonijah's speech; the analogy of Gen. 47:31 suggests rather that David is on his death-bed.

Chap. 2 relates David's last charges and the means by which Solomon established his throne. It falls into three parts: (a) vss. 1-12, (b) vss. 12-35, (c) vss. 36-46.

a) Vss. 3, 4, 10-12 are admittedly due to R^D; vs. 2a, "I go the way of all the earth," may be compared with Josh. 23:14 (D²), and for 2b see 1 Sam. 4:9 (E, פִּתּוּ "to be courageous," generally D; see Gesenius-Brown, *Hebrew Lexicon*, s. v., p. 304a). Vss. 5-9 remain. For vss. 8 sq. see below, c). The unfriendly feeling toward Joab (vss. 5 sq.) recurs elsewhere only in passages whose genuineness is not free from suspicion, and on the association of Abner and Amasa, see above on 2 Sam., chap. 20 (§ 5, b). Vs. 7, it is true, may be old, but the mention of Barzillai in 19:32 sqq. is probably due to a later hand (§ 6, c). The suspicion which attaches itself to (a) is increased by the parallelism between 1:47b; 2:1, and Gen. 47:31, 29a (J), which suggests that 2:1 originally stood before 1:47b and has been wrested from its original position by the writer or editor of (a).

b) Adonijah and the leaders of the revolt are removed. Adonijah requests Bathsheba to induce Solomon to grant him Abishag as wife (vss. 13 sqq.). He refers to his having been the legitimate heir, but, in accordance with the view of the deuteronomist (see 2 Sam. 7:12 sqq.; 1 Kings 8:20; D), acknowledges that Solomon's accession was the choice of Yahweh. His words in vs. 15 directly contradict 1 Kings 1:20, where the king's successor is unknown. Solomon, more quick-witted than the queen-mother, perceives the true nature of his brother's request, and has him put to death; for vs. 24 see 2 Sam. 7:11, 13. But, one is forced

to ask, is the episode historical? Adonijah's life has been conditionally spared, and yet he, the unsuccessful but rightful heir, goes to the mother of the reigning king with a request which in the ideas of the age was equivalent to the claim of his brother's inheritance (see Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, pp. 89 sq.). The resemblance which the alleged offense bears to 2 Sam. 3:7 sqq.; 16:21 sqq., which have been ascribed to a hand later than J, *on other grounds*, is noteworthy. The passage connects itself with the introductory notice of Abishag in 1 Kings 1:1-4 (vs. 15b is a gloss), and is another proof that chap. 1 has undergone revision.⁵⁸

Abiathar (vss. 26 sq.) is exiled to his "fields" at Anathoth (for אֲנָתוֹת vs. 26a; cf. on 9:7 § 3, a), his life is spared, inasmuch as he had accompanied David in his flight from Saul (1 Sam. 22:20 sqq., J; so Budde), and had borne the "*ephod*" (so read for "ark;" cf. 1 Sam. 23:6, a gloss, and on 2 Sam. 15:24 see above, § 4, d). His place is taken by Zadok, of whose origin the earlier writings have nothing to tell us; it is probable that he occupied no important position until his promotion by Solomon. There is little else to observe except the brevity of this notice, for vs. 27b, at least, is admittedly a gloss.

Joab, hearing the tidings, flees to the "tent of Yahweh" (a noteworthy expression), and seizes hold of the "horns of the altar" (vs. 28; cf. 1:50). He is slain by Jehoiada, who takes his post (vss. 28-34). In this passage attention may be drawn to the idioms "put away innocent blood" (vs. 31; cf. Deut. 19:13; 21:8 sq.), and "Yahweh shall return his blood," etc. (vs. 32; cf. Judg. 9:24, 57, R^{JE}; see Moore, *SBOT*). Joab, like Adonijah, is not put to death for participating in the intrigue; his crime has been the murder of the two captains Abner and Amasa (vss. 31 sqq.); see above, a), and cf. § 5, b). There is also a hint in vs. 22 that he has been suspected of complicity in Adonijah's new plot.

c) Lastly, Shimei's life is spared conditionally. Three years later he goes to Achish, king of Gath (one is surprised to find him still alive!) in pursuit of some runaway servants, and on his return is put to death by Benaiah, who has apparently resumed his former position of "head of the guard" (vss. 36 sqq.; cf. Bonk,

⁵⁸ Thus at the end of the chapter for עֵינֵי רֵאֵרָן (vs. 48) cf. 2 Sam. 24:3 (§ 2, a), and note that the "horns of the altar" are first mentioned in Jer. 17:1 (Am. 3:14b a gloss; see Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* [3d edition], p. 78).

ZATW., Vol. XI, p. 143). The relation between vss. 44*a* and 42*a*, 46*b* and 45*b* suggests that 44–45 is an insertion (the EV “moreover” is not found in the MT). David’s charge to Solomon concerning Shimei (MT, vss. 8–9) is repeated in the LXX in a slightly different form immediately before *c*. Following Kittel (Vol. II, p. 51) we may prefer the LXX text and arrangement to the present MT. Hence it is to be inferred that the whole episode (vss. 36–46, preceded by the LXX form of the introduction) is an independent passage unrelated to 1 Kings, chap. 2, and that when it was inserted in its present position the introductory formula was removed and adapted in order to find a place for it among the charges in vss. 1 *sqq.*⁵⁰ For the other “Shimei” narratives, see above § 6, *b*), and note that שִׁמְעִי (2:9) is perhaps a sign of E (2 Sam. 14:2; see § 4, *a*).

The LXX version of chap. 2 contains much additional matter, partly derived from later portions of Solomon’s history, and, on the whole, is not of any great value. This arrangement, however, is of interest, inasmuch as it shows that at a comparatively late date the work of revision and redaction was not finally completed. Like 2 Sam., chaps. 5–8, 21–24, with which its heterogeneous character makes it a fair parallel, the LXX version of 1 Kings, chap. 2, concludes with a list of officers, which, apart from its connection with 1 Kings 4:1–6, presents some distinctive features of its own.

1 Kings, chaps. 1, 2, conclude the history of David and at the same time introduce Solomon. The chapters have been revised and adapted to form a link of connection between the history of David and that of Solomon; already in chap. 1 we seem to be passing from an old narrator to the redactor. The general impression of David’s weakness conveyed in chap. 1, compared with his acute calculations in 2:1–9, is as striking as the sudden change in Solomon from the helpless infant, in the early part of chap. 1, to the clever, far-seeing king in chaps. 1:51 *sqq.*; 2 (*cf.*, *e. g.*, his treatment of Adonijah’s request). Moreover, there is much in favor of the view that 1 Kings, chap. 2, has been written to shift from Solomon’s shoulders the bloodshed incurred in establishing his throne (Wellhausen, Stade, etc.). The improbable character of the excuse for Adonijah’s death, as well as the fact that the incident of Shimei seems to be an insertion, may be urged

⁵⁰ *Cf.* Benzinger, *Könige*, *ad. loc.*, whose commentary unfortunately appeared too late for the present writer to make use of in the above section.

against those who support the genuineness of chap. 2 on the grounds that Solomon's conduct was not exclusively determined by a reference to the revolt. It is a more difficult question to determine whether *a* and *b* (see above) are double attempts to frame an excuse for Solomon, or whether chap. 2 (as well as the latter part of chap. 1) owes its present form to repeated revision. In the former case we may refer to 1 Sam., chaps. 2-4, where both E² (chaps. 2, 3) and R^D (2:27-36) have paved the way for the loss of the ark, which the earliest writer (E¹) had related without comment.⁶⁰ In the latter case the suggestion that *c* is a later addition leads to the conjecture that the passages referring to Adonijah and Joab have had a similar origin, and that in 2:35 we have an old fragment upon which 2:5, 6, 28-34 and 2:26, 27 have been based.

Perhaps the second alternative is more probable. The double entrance of Bathsheba (1:15, 28) and Nathan (1:22, 32), already referred to, may arise from the fact that the original sequel to Adonijah's revolt has been replaced by vss. 28 *sqq.* This may account for the suddenness with which Solomon appears to take the place of David. That 1:47*b* and 2:1 are not in their original position has been suggested above. In chap. 2 we find old fragments in 2:1, 7 (?), and 35. To these have been added (*a*) Adonijah's request, 2:13-25, which involves 1:1-4, 15*b*, and possibly 1:50-53, (*b*) Joab, 2:5, 6, 28-34, (*c*) Abiathar, 2:26, 27, and (*d*) Shimei, 2:8, 9, 36 *sqq.* The verses which remain (2:2-4, 10-12, 44, 45) are probably from R^D.

§ 8. *General results.*—Frequently in the course of the preceding pages the present writer has found it impossible to do more than point out the difficulties which a passage contained, or indicate traces of interpolation and revision. To present a systematic and precise table of the results of these investigations would hardly be possible at the present stage of the inquiry, and it must suffice for the present to sum up briefly the general conclusions which have been reached.

The large amount of revision which we have found makes it probable that there were several recensions of David's life extant. "Such books as Samuel . . . had little place in the synagogue service, while the interest of the narrative caused them to be largely read in private. But private study gave no such guarantee

⁶⁰ It might also be noticed that both Lucian and Josephus and their books of Samuel at 1 Kings 2:11.

against the introduction of various readings as was afforded by use in public worship a student might not hesitate to make on his own copy notes or small additions or even to add a paragraph. . . . Under such circumstances, and in the absence of official supervision, the multiplication of copies opened an easy door to the multiplication of errors" (Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* [2d edition], p. 84). If these remarks are true of the copyist, do they not apply equally to the editor, and if such a procedure opens the door to the multiplication of textual errors, does it not supply an easy entrance for later accretions? The figure of David is one that would very naturally lend itself to vigorous treatment at the hands of later writers. Was the chronicler really the first to idealize David?

Turning to the narratives themselves we find traces of two distinct redactors, a later one, whose hand is seen especially in chaps. 5-8, 21-24, 16:20-23, and the related passages, 15:16; 20:3, and an earlier (R^{JE}?), seen chiefly in chaps. 1-4, and Absalom's revolt. In the revolt, the hand which added the interviews with Meribbaal is probably responsible for the introduction of chap. 9. It is in the chapters worked over by the earlier redactor that we find passages which bear traces of Ephraimite origin tending to combine the histories of David and the house of Saul; they emphasize the former's good-will toward the latter, and betray here and there a marked bitter feeling toward the sons of Zeruiah.

Finally, we may note the efforts made to antedate David's supremacy over all Israel. The editors of chaps. 5-8, 21-24 (a collection of passages relating to various periods of David's life) made it the immediate result of Ishbaal's death (§ 3, *a*). The editor of chaps. 15-20 ascribed it to a period preceding the revolts of Absalom and Sheba. Both, originally, were purely tribal, and have been revised to adapt them to a period when David's sovereignty was extended over "all Israel," a record of which event is not given by any old narrator. The inclusion of "Israel" in Absalom's rebellion is connected with the appending of Sheba's rising, and to this hand we may perhaps ascribe the removal of the Ammonite war (chap. 10) from its original position after the revolt (*cf.* § 4). Since chaps. 21-24 are a comparatively late addition to 2 Samuel, it follows that, when the account of David and Bathsheba was artificially connected with

the Ammonite war (§ 3, *b*), it must have stood immediately before 1 Kings, chap. 1. The birth of Solomon probably happened but a short while before the revolt of Adonijah, and the event may have been accompanied by some such promise as is referred to in 1 Kings 1:13; 17:30.

From these evidences we draw two conclusions: (1) the union of Judah and Israel under one king did not occur at any early date in David's reign, and (2) the narratives in 2 Samuel which presuppose any close relationship between Judah and Israel (or Benjamin) previous to this union are due to a redactor (R^{JE}?), and, in several cases at least, as is only to be expected, seem to be derived from an Ephraimite source. Subsequent history shows how loose was the union of North and South, and the ease with which the separation was effected after a few years of joint rule under David and Solomon (considered in the light of the second conclusion) favors the view that Judah, previous to the union, had never stood in any close relationship to Israel (or Benjamin), a view which, if not new, is now perhaps shown to be supported, so far as 2 Samuel at least is concerned, by the internal evidence of the narratives themselves. A discussion of the bearing of this view upon the earlier history of Israel in 1 Samuel must be reserved for a future occasion.⁶¹

⁶¹ The above would argue against David's connection with Bethlehem. A home to the south of Judah seems to be required, and if exogamy was really the custom in Judah—and certain indications point that way—we could determine to what clans David did not belong. Marquart's conjecture that he came from Arad may imply Jerahmeelite origin (*cf. arts. David*, §1, note 2, Jerahmeel, in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*). Winckler, however, suggests that the Judean clans came from the north-Arabian land of Muḡri, of which Kadesh, it is highly probable, would form part. In agreement with this, we find in JE's account of the exodus traces of a movement from Kadesh direct to Judah, in connection with which we may place the capture of Hebron by Caleb (*cf. Hebron, Kadesh, op. cit.*). This seems to find further confirmation in the names of David's body-guard. The "Cherethites" remind us of the wady Cherith "before Jordan," i. e., to the south of Judah (1 Kings 17:3; *cf. 2 Sam. 20:2, §5a, and art. Cherith, op. cit.*), and with the "Pelethites" we associate the Jerahmeelite "Peleth" (1 Chron. 2:33); *cf. "Peleth" in Korah's rebellion, Numb. 16:1 ("sons" [or "son." LXX, Lucian] of Reuben* should come after "Eliab" [so in some Greek MSS. cited by Holmes and Parsons]). May we conjecture that David lived in Muḡri before he took the steps which led him north to Hebron, and then farther north again to Jerusalem? His intercourse with Achish (1 Sam., chap. 27) we need not doubt; at a later time we find Yamani of Ashdod, the leader of the Ḥa-at-ti (the south-Palestinian Hittites?) taking refuge in Muḡri (*cf. art. Ashdod, op. cit.*); friendly intercourse between Muḡri and the Philistines was not unknown. That a later age placed David's youth in the district where he afterward reigned is not surprising. 1 Sam., chaps. 16-31, has been thoroughly revised (it would not be difficult, for example, to show that chap. 27 is the continuation of 23:1-13a, 14b), and this is illustrated in a striking manner by a glance at Budde's text in the *SBOT*. The source of David's history at Saul's court is almost wholly E, in his life as an outlaw in the south of Judah J predominates, and his fortunes as an independent chieftain (chaps. 27 *seqq.*) are wholly J. Later tradition, not unmindful of David's home, brought him to the south of Judah, and, if we may retain the reading in 25:1, actually sent him to the wilderness of Paran, which is practically the district of Kadesh—or Muḡri.

✓

THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF NABOPOLASSAR, KING OF BABYLONIA (B. C. 625-604).

BY PRESTON P. BRUCE,
The University of Chicago.

No. I of the inscriptions published below in transcription and translation is from the text published by Hilprecht in his *Old Babylonian Inscriptions, Chiefly from Nippur*, Part I (1893), 32 sq., No. 84, cited in Delitzsch, *HWB.*, Preface, p. vii, as NABOPOL. HILPR.¹ The original is inscribed on a "pointed clay cylinder," described by Hilprecht as a "cylinder of baked clay, cartridge-shaped, hollow, small hole at the top, . . . height 15.2, diameter of base 8.85, diameter of hole 2.2." The cylinder came from Babylon, and is now in the Babylonian museum of the University of Pennsylvania, where it bears the catalogue number 9090. A fine half-tone photographic reproduction may be seen on Plate XIII, No. 34, of the volume cited above.

The variants are from a clay cylinder in the British Museum, numbered 86, 7-20, 1, cited by Hilprecht as B. B was first published by Strassmaier.² The first half of B is somewhat mutilated, but, judging from the small number and the character of the variants furnished by B where its text is preserved, it would seem that no serious loss has been incurred.

Nos. II and III are from texts published by Winckler in Abel-Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen* (1890), p. 32. The originals, written in Old Babylonian script, are in the British Museum, all marked A. H. 82, 7-14, which would indicate that they came from Sippar. No. II was first published by Winckler in *ZA.*, Vol. II (1887), pp. 69-75 (cuneiform text, transliteration, translation, and commentary). At that time he had two copies on two truncated cones, 4-4½ inches high. Soon afterward he found a third (cf. *ZA.*, Vol. II,

¹ The indentures of NABOPOL. HILPR. at cols. i, 11, 14, 41; ii, 2, 4, 8, 15, 17, 23, 27, 30, 32, 34, 43, 50, 65; iii, 8, 13, 20, 23, 30, 42, indicate that these indented lines are to be closely connected with the preceding lines.

² *ZA.*, Vol. II (1889), cuneiform text (pp. 129-36), transliteration and translation (pp. 106-13).

pp. 144 sq.). No. III was first published by the same author in the same number of *ZA.*, pp. 145 sq., in both transliteration and translation.

All three inscriptions were rendered in transliteration and translation by Winckler in *KB.*, Vol. III, Part II (1890),³ pp. 2-9, and in transliteration by McGee in *BAS.*, Band III, Heft 4 (1898), pp. 525-8. McGee also gives a transliteration and Latin translation in his doctor thesis, *De topographia urbis Babylonis*, 1895.

My translation differs in several places from that of McGee. I have given a transliteration, but do not think it necessary to add explanatory notes.

TRANSLITERATION.

No. I, Col. i.

A-na ^{11u} Marduk bēli ra-	20 ša 'ilāni rabūti' a-na-ku
bi-u	E-nu-ma i-na ki-bi-a-tim
^{11u} Bēl ilāni mu-uš-ta-ar-ḫa	^{11u} Nabū u ^{11u} Marduk
a-ši-ir I-gi-gi	na-ra-am šar-ru ⁸ -ti-ia
za-a-ni-iḫ ^{11u} A-nun-na-ki	u kakki GI.DA.LUM
5 nu-ur ilāni ab-bi-e-šu	25 ša ^{11u} GIR.RA ra-šu-ub-bu
a-ši-ib Ê.SAG.ILA	mu-uš-ab ⁹ -ri-ḫu za-a-ri-ia
bēl Bāb-ili ^{ki} be-ili-ia	su-ba-ru-um a-na-ru
^{11u} Nabū-aplu-u-ṣu-ur	māt-su u-te ¹⁰ -ir-ru
šakkanakku Bāb-ili ^{ki}	a-na tilli u ka-ar-mi
10 šar māti Šu-me- ⁴ er-im ⁴	30 i-nu-mi-šu Ê.TEMEN.AN.
u Ak-ka-di-im	KI
ru-ba-a-am na-'i-dam	zi-ik-ku. ¹¹ ra-at ¹¹ Bāb-ili ^{ki}
ti-ri-iṣ (ga-at) ⁶ ^{11u} Nabū	ša ul-la-nu-u-a
u ^{11u} Marduk	un-nu-ša-tu šu-ku-pa-at
15 a-aš-ru-um ša-aḫ-tam	išid-za i-na i-ra-at ki-gal-e
ša pa-la-aḫ ili u Ištār ⁶	35 a-na šu-ur-šu-dam
li-it-mu-du zu-ru-uš-šu	ri-e-si-ša ša-ma-mi
za-ni-in Ê.SAG.ILA u	a-na ši ¹² -it-nu-ni
Ê.ZI.DA	^{11u} Marduk be-lam ia-a-ši
mu-uš-te-'i-im za-ak-ki-e	iḫ-bi-a

³ His rendering of No. I at this date was necessarily based on B.

⁴ B: *ra-am*.

⁶ *ga-at* added from B.

⁶ Sign No. 234 in Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*⁸. Here without the determinative for the deity.

⁷ AN.GAL.GAL. B has the plur. AN.AN.GAL.GAL.

⁸ Sign to be read *ru*; cf. col. ii, 57, where B has the ordinary *ru*. For other occurrences see Neb. Grot., cols. ii, 45, and iii, 27.

⁹ B: *tab*. ¹⁰ Strassmaier's sign (9) is questioned by Hilprecht. ¹¹ B: *um*? ¹² B: *st*.

No. I, Col. iii.

- | | |
|---|---|
| lu-u ²⁹ aḫ-nu-un-ma | lu e-pu ³⁸ -uṣ-ma Ki-ma |
| libnāte u ṭi-iṭ-ṭam | ṣadi-im |
| i-na ga-ga-di-ia | ri-e-si-šu |
| lu-u ²⁹ az-bi-il | lu u-ul-li ³⁹ -im |
| 5 tu-up-ṣi-ka-a-te ³⁰ (ḫuraṣi | a-na ^{il} u Marduk be-ili-ia |
| u kaspi) ³¹ | 35 ki-i ⁴⁰ ṣa ū-um u-ul-lu-tim |
| lu u-dar-rig(?) -ma | a-na ta-ab-ri ⁴¹ -a-tim |
| ^{il} u Nabû-ku-du-ur-ra ³² . | lu u-ṣa-az-zi-im-šu |
| u-ṣu-ur | ^{il} u Marduk be-lam |
| bu-uk-ra-am ³³ | e-ip-ṣe-ti-ia ⁴² dam-ga-a-ti ⁴² |
| 10 ri-eṣ-tu-u | 40 ḫa-di-iṣ na-ap-li-is-ma |
| na-ra-am li-ib-bi-ia | i-na ki-bi-ti-ka |
| ṭi-iṭ-ṭam bi-il-la-at | ṣi-ir-tim |
| karāni ṣamni u ḫi-bi- | ṣa la ut ⁴³ -ta-ak-ka-ra |
| iṣ-tim | i-bi-iṣ-tim |
| it-ti um-ma-na-ti-ia | 45 li-bi-it ga-ti-ia |
| 15 lu u-ṣa-az-bil ³⁴ | li-bu-ur a-na dāra-a-tim |
| ^{il} u Nabû-ṣu-ma-am ³⁵ -li-ṣi-ir | Ki-ma libnāte Ê.TEMEN. |
| ta-li-im-šu | AN.KI. |
| ṣe-ir-ra-am zi-it libbi-ia ³⁶ | ku-un-na aṣ-ṣi-a-tim |
| tu-ub-bu-su-um | iṣid kussē-ia ṣu-ur-ṣi-id |
| 20 da-du-u-a | 50 a-na ū-um ri-e-ku-te ⁴⁴ |
| ^{iṣ} allu ^{iṣ} MARlu u-ṣa-aṣ-bi-it | Ê.TEMEN.AN.KI a-na |
| tu-up-ṣi-kam | ṣarri |
| ḫuraṣi u kaspi | mu-ud-di-ṣi-ka ku-ru-ub |
| lu e-mi-id-ma | e-nu-ma ^{il} u Marduk |
| 25 a-na ^{il} u Marduk be-ili-ia | i-na ri-si-e-tim |
| a-na ṣi-ri-iḫ-tim | 55 i-ra-am-mu-u |
| lu aṣ-ru-uḫ-ṣum | ki-ri-ib-ka [ia |
| Bīta miḫir Ê.ŠAR.RA | bītu a-na ^{il} u Marduk be-ili- |
| i-na ul-ṣi-im | da-mi-iḫ- ⁴⁵ ta-am ⁴⁵ |
| 30 u ri-si-a-te ³⁷ | ti-iz-ka-ar-am ⁴⁶ |

No. II, Col. i.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| ^{il} u Nabû-aplu-u-ṣu-ur | a-na za-na-an ma-ḫa-zi |
| ṣar Bāb-ili ^{k1} | ud-du-ṣu eṣ-ri-e-ti |
| ti-ri-iṣ ga-at ^{il} u Nabû | ur-ta-ṣu ka-bi-it-ti |
| u ^{il} u Marduk a-na-ku | u-ma-'i-ra-an-ni |
| 5 I-nu ^{il} u Marduk bēlu | 10 i-nu-mi-ṣu-um |
| rabu-u | Sippar |

²⁹ B omits u.³⁰ B: *tīm*.³¹ B omits.³² B: *ri*.³³ B omits am.³⁴ B: *bi-il*.³⁵ B omits *ma-am*.³⁶ B: *lib-bi-ia*.³⁷ B: *tīm*.³⁸ *pá*. B: *bu, pu*.³⁹ B: *lu*.⁴⁰ B: *Ki-ma*.⁴¹ B: *ra*.⁴² From B.⁴³ B: *it*.⁴⁴ B: *tīm*.⁴⁵ B: *tīm*.⁴⁶ am added from B.

ma-ḥa-zi zi-i-ri
 na-ra-am ilu Šamaš u ilu Ā
 nār UD.KIB.NUN is-si-
 šu-ma

15 a-na ku-ud-dur(?) be-lu-
 ti-šu-nu
 me-e i-ri-e-ḫu a-na sa-
 a-bu

No. II, Col. ii.

ilu Nabû-aplu-u-ṣu-ur
 a-aš-ri ša-aḥ-tim
 pa-li-iḫ ilāni ia-a-ti
 nār UD.KIB.NUN
 5 a-na Sippar
 lu u-ša-aḥ-ra-am-ma
 me-e nu-uḫ-ši el(?) -lu-
 tim

a-na ilu Šamaš be-ili-ia
 lu u-ki-in
 10 Ki-bi-ir nāri šu-a-ti
 i-na kupri u a-gur-ri
 lu u-ša-ar-ši-id-ma
 a-na ilu Šamaš bēli-ia
 kār šu-ul-mi-im
 15 lu-u um-mi-id

No. III, Col. i.

ilu Nabû-aplu-u-ṣu-ur
 šarru dannu
 šar Bāb-ili^{ki}
 šar māti Šu-me-er-im u
 Ak-ka-di-i
 5 mu-ki-in iā-di māti
 ru-ba-a-am na-'i-dam
 ti-ri-iṣ ga-at
 ilu Nabû u ilu Marduk
 mi-gi-ir Ša-aš-šu
 10 na-ra-am ilu Ā
 ḫar-ra-ad ḫa-ra-di-e
 ša ilu GIR.RA ra-šu-[ub-bu]

u-ša-ak-ši-du-šu ni-is-
 ma-su
 a-aš-ri-im ša-aḥ-tam
 15 mu-uš-te-'-e-im sak-ki-e-
 im
 ša ilāni rabūti
 šarru ša ip-še-tu-šu
 e-li šarrāni abē-šu
 šu-tu-ga a-na-ku
 20 E-nu-ma Ša-aš-šu
 bēlu ra-bi-u
 ida-a-a il-li-ku-ma

No. III, Col. ii.

[la ma-gi-re a]-na-ru
 [māt za-'i]-ri-ia
 [u-te-ir-ru(?) a]-na tilli
 [u ka]-ar-mu
 5 i-nu-mi-šu
 a-na ilu Bēlit Sippar
 ru-ba-tim ṣi-ir-tim šarra-
 ti-ia
 Ê.EDIN.NA bit ta-ap-šu-
 uḫ-ti-šu
 e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš-ma
 10 ki-ma ū-mi-im u-na-mi-ir
 A-na ša-at-tim ilu Bēlit
 Sippar

be-el-tim šu-ur-bu-tim
 e-nu-ma bitu šu-a-ti
 uš-ta-ak-la-lu-ma
 15 ta-ra-am-mi-i-im ki-ri-ib-
 ša
 ia-a-ši ilu Nabû-aplu-u-
 ṣu-ur
 šarru za-ni-in-ki
 ki-ma libnāte Sippar
 u Bāb-ili^{ki}
 20 ku-un-na-am a-na ṣi-a-
 tim
 šar-ru-tim šu-ul-bi-ri-im
 a-na ū-mi-im re-e-ku-tim

TRANSLATION.

No. I, Col. i.

- To Marduk, the great lord,
 lord of the gods, the powerful,
 patron of the Igigi,
 oppressor of the Anunnaki,
 5 light of the gods, his fathers,
 who dwells in Esagila,
 lord of Babylon, my lord —
 Nabopolassar,
 governor of Babylon,
 10 king of Sumer
 and Akkad,
 the lofty prince,
 who is under the guidance of
 Nabu
 and Marduk,
 15 the humble, the submissive,
 whose heart has learned
 the fear of god and goddess,
 the restorer of Esagila and
 Ezida,
 the one who looks after the
 rights(?) (temple dues(?))
 20 of the great gods, am I.
 When, at the command
 of Nabu and Marduk,
 beloved of my royalty,
 and by the strong weapon
- 25 of the powerful Girra,⁴⁷
 who strikes my enemies with
 lightning,
 I destroyed the Subare,
 (and) turned their land
 into mounds and plow-land;
 30 at that time, as for Etemen-
 anki,
 the temple tower of Babylon,
 which before my time
 had become weakened and had
 fallen in,
 Marduk the lord commanded me
 35 to lay
 its foundation in the heart of
 the earth
 (and) to raise
 its turret to heaven.
 Baskets, spades(?), and 1½ U.
 RU pl.
 40 I made
 out of ivory, ushu, and Mis-
 makanna wood;
 I caused the numerous workmen
 assembled in my land
 to carry (them).

No. I, Col. ii.

- I set to work(?), I made
 bricks,
 I manufactured
 burnt bricks.
 5 Like the downpour of heaven
 which cannot be measured,
 like the massive
 flood,
 I caused the Arahtu
 10 to carry
 bitumen and pitch.
 With the coöperation of Ea,
 with the insight of Marduk,
- with the wisdom of Nabu
 15 and Nisaba,
 in the broad
 understanding
 with which the god my creator
 had endowed me,
 20 with my great ingenuity(?)
 I came to a decision,
 I gave orders
 to the skilled
 workmen,
 25 with a nindanaḫu measure
 I measured

⁴⁷ Perhaps to be identified with Dibbarra. See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 594, note 1, *et passim*.

the measurement (of the aba
 aš-lam(?)),
 the architects
 at first
 30 made
 a survey
 of the ground-plot(?),
 afterwards
 I consulted
 35 Shamash, Ramman, and Mar-
 duk;
 to my heart
 they gave decision,
 they sanctioned the measure-
 ments;
 the great gods by decree
 40 indicated
 the later stages of the work.
 By means
 of exorcism,
 in the wisdom of Ea and Marduk,
 45 I cleared away

that place,
 (and) on the original site
 I laid its platform foundation;
 gold, silver, stones from moun-
 tain
 50 and sea,
 in its foundation
 I set,

 goodly oil, sweet-smelling herbs,
 and
 55 I placed
 underneath the bricks.
 An image of my royalty
 carrying a dupšikku
 I constructed,
 60 in the platform foundation
 I placed it.
 Unto Marduk my lord
 I bowed my neck,
 I arrayed myself in (my) gown,
 65 the robe of my royalty,

No. I, Col. iii.

2 bricks and mortar
 I carried
 on my head,
 5 a dupšikku of gold and silver
 I wore,
 and Nebuchadnezzar
 the firstborn,
 10 the chief son,
 beloved of my heart,
 I caused to carry
 mortar mixed with
 wine, oil, and (other) products
 15 along with my workmen.
 Nabušumlišir
 his twin-brother,
 the offspring of my own flesh,
 the junior,
 20 my darling,
 I ordered to take a basket and
 spade(?),
 a dupšikku
 of gold and silver
 I placed (on him),

25 unto Marduk, my lord,
 as a gift,
 I dedicated him.
 I built
 the temple in front of Ê.ŠÁR.
 RA
 30 with joy
 and rejoicing,
 and like a mountain
 I raised
 its tower aloft;
 35 to Marduk, my lord,
 as in days of old
 I dedicated it
 for a sight (to be gazed at).
 O Marduk, my lord,
 40 look with favor
 upon my goodly deeds;
 at thy exalted
 command,
 which cannot be altered,
 let the performance
 45 of my hands

- endure forever.
 Like the bricks of Etemen-
 anki,
 which are to remain firm forever,
 do thou establish the foundation
 of my throne
 50 for all time.
 O Etemenanki, grant blessing
 to the king who has restored
 thee;
 when Marduk
 with joy
 55 takes up his abode
 in thee,
 O temple, recall
 to Marduk, my lord,
 my gracious deeds.

No. II, Col. i.

- Nabopolassar,
 the king of Babylon,
 under the guidance of Nabu
 and Marduk am I—
 5 When Marduk, the great lord,
 by his supreme command
 commissioned me
 to restore the cities
 and repair the temples;
 10 at that time
 the river Euphrates had receded
 from Sippar,
 the splendid city,
 beloved of Shamash and Ā,
 15 and the waters were far(?) too
 distant
 for the service(?) of their lord-
 ships.

No. II, Col. ii.

- I, Nabopolassar,
 the humble, the submissive,
 who worships the gods,
 brought back (by digging)
 5 the river Euphrates
 (in its original channel) to Sip-
 par;
 and I provided
 pure waters in abundance
 for Shamash my lord.
 10 I walled up
 the banks of that river
 with mortar and brick,
 and I constructed a protecting
 wall
 for Shamash my lord.

No. III, Col. i.

- Nabopolassar,
 the powerful king,
 king of Babylon,
 king of Sumer and Akkad,
 5 founder of the land,
 the exalted prince,
 under the guidance
 of Nabu and Marduk,
 the favorite of Shamash,
 10 beloved of Ā,
 the hero of heroes,
 whom the powerful Girra⁴⁸
 lets attain his every desire,
 the humble, the submissive,
 15 who has a care for the rights(?)
 (temple dues(?))
 of the great gods,
 the king, whose works
 surpass those of the kings
 his fathers, am I.
 20 At the time that Shamash
 the great lord
 walked at my side,

⁴⁸ See No. I, col. i, 25.

No. III, Col. ii.

<p>and I destroyed the rebellious (and) turned the land of my foes into mounds and plow-land ; 5 at that time I rebuilt for the mistress of Sippar, the exalted princess, my mistress, Ê.EDIN.NA, a temple wherein she might find peace of mind, 10 and I made it brilliant as the day. In the future, O mistress of Sippar,</p>	<p>powerful mistress, when I have brought this temple to a state of completion, 15 and thou hast taken up thy dwelling therein, do thou establish me, Nabopo- lassar, the king, thy restorer, forever like the bricks of Sippar and Babylon ; 20 and do thou permit my sover- eignty to last into far future days.</p>
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Contributed Notes.

THE SYRIAC-ARABIC NARRATIVE OF THE MIRACLES OF JESUS.

In the October (1899) number of this JOURNAL Rev. W. Scott Watson published "A Narrative of Miracles of Jesus," written in a familiar and not uninteresting type of vulgar Arabic. As the translation which he appended seems to me occasionally to miss the meaning of the original, and as some features of the Arabic text perhaps deserve an additional word of mention, I have thought that the following suggestions may not be superfluous:

P. 43, last line, for "lizards rushing about" read "gazelles feeding." The word ضبيات illustrates the common substitution in vulgar Arabic of ضى for ظ (of which this manuscript contains numerous examples), and has nothing to do with ضب "lizard." The same mistake occurs several times on p. 44.

P. 44, ll. 14 *sq.*, instead of "there will not be any communication between you and men" read "men shall not have power to harm you."—L. 23, the relation of the clauses has been misunderstood. Read, "Then the locusts would come and devour it when the time of harvest came."—Ll. 26 *sq.*, read "there came together a number of the children of Israel, and said among themselves, Who knows whether this man may not be able," etc.

P. 45, l. 9, read "God hath sent thee. Even though we are not deserving, remove from us," etc.—L. 16, for "and that not one become corrupt" read "and that ye harm no one."—L. 19, for "in the [manner of] wailing of the country" read "in the various districts of the country." So also in l. 20. نواحي is plural of ناحية.—Ll. 25 *sq.*, for "nor doth he summon you without power" read "nor doth he leave you without food." The verb is from ودع, not from دعا, and the noun قوت "provision" is written quite correctly.—L. 7 from the bottom, read "for he is entering the city."—L. 3 from the bottom, for "in one hour" read "in one moment."—In the next line, for "they praised God, to whom is not difficult any of the things that he delivered as matters to the humanity of his Son" read "they praised God, to whom not anything (شى من الاشيا) is difficult; who delivered all things to the humanity of his Son."

P. 46, ll. 1 *sq.*, the translation is badly confused. Read, "Then after the entrance of the disciples into the city and into his house, the man

went out and came to the Mount of Olives."—L. 7, for "from thy majesty" read "for reverence of thee."—L. 13 from the bottom, for "establish" read "raise from the dead."—Two lines below, "death" should be "calamities." The word is plural of *آفة*, and the text is in no need of emendation.—Five lines farther, "And to him be the glory" should be "for to him belongs the glory."

In the colophon appended by the scribe Mr. Watson renders *عبد النور باسم* "the servant of the light, by name." Is it not rather the proper name *Abd en-Nūr Bāsim*?

Of the eleven proposed corrections of the text only one, *بجناحه*, p. 40, can be allowed. The proposal to substitute *ظ* for *ض*, and *vice versa* (pp. 38, 40 [twice], 41), is most unfortunate, for it would remove one of the really interesting features of this text. The word *تقافوا*, p. 40 (twice), is apparently *قفا* III. or VI., with the meaning of *وقف*. It would hardly do to emend it, even if the proposed substitute, *تقاموا*, were possible here, which is not the case. The word is a gain for the lexicon of late Arabic. In place of *فطامنوا*, p. 40, Mr. Watson proposes to read *فطاطروا* (*i. e.*, *فطأطأوا*). This is unquestionably the word to expect here; but notice Dozy on the word *طأمن* (*Supplément*, s. v. *طمن*). It would seem that here, also, Mr. Watson's manuscript furnishes us with an important example of a rare word. The translation would be, as with the other reading, "Then all the lions bowed their heads low." The text-reading *قدسي*, p. 42, is the only correct one, "*my* Holy Spirit." The same is true of *لها*, on the same page. The proposed correction of *الافات*, p. 43, has already been mentioned.

In connection with the theory of the origin of this Arabic document, it is interesting to observe (what apparently escaped Mr. Watson's notice) that the appendix, from p. 42, l. 17, on, is composed in rhymed prose. This part, at least, is certainly not a translation.

CHARLES C. TORREY.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
Andover, Mass.

Book Notices.

NIEBUHR ON THE AMARNA TIME.¹

This is the second *Heft* of the new series *Der alte Orient*, herausgegeben von der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft. It is a popular treatment, under five heads, of the Tel el-Amarna inscriptions and their importance: (1) discovery and kind of tablets, (2) the court and government of the Egyptians, (3) the letters of Asiatic kings, (4) the letters of Asiatic subjects, (5) the general conditions of the Amarna period. The author gives brief extracts from several of the most interesting letters. His translations agree substantially with those of Winckler. We are glad to see that he adopts Knudtzon's reading, Kadashman-Bel, as the name of the Babylonian king (formerly read Kallima-Sin) who carried on correspondence with Amenophis III. Though just a sketch, this pamphlet gives some idea of the world activity of the fifteenth century B. C., in which the cuneiform language was the language of diplomacy.

IRA M. PRICE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THUREAU-DANGIN ON THE ORIGIN OF CUNEIFORM WRITING.²

Since the publication of *I^{re} Partie* of the above work³ M. Thureau-Dangin has secured much valuable new material touching the original forms of many of the cuneiform signs. This material embraces (1) the new acquisitions of the Louvre Museum, (2) the inscriptions discovered by M. E. de Sarzec (1897-8), (3) copies of texts made by himself in Constantinople in August, 1898, and (4) Part VII of the British Museum Cuneiform Texts. Since the issuance of *I^{re} Partie* he has made a new study of the Syllabaries *S^a*, *S^b*, and *S^c*, and observed some confirmations of and some objections to previous conjectures regarding the coalescence in modern form of two and sometimes of more distinct primitive signs.

The author has secured about 130 additional archaic forms, some of which vary but slightly from those already recorded in *I^{re} Partie*. He has also cast doubt on some of his former identifications, *e. g.*, those of

¹ *DIE AMARNA-ZEIT: Aegypten und Vorderasien um 1400 v. Chr. nach dem Thontafelfunde von El-Amarna.* Von Carl Niebuhr. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. M. 0.60.

² *RECHERCHES SUR L'ORIGINE DE L'ÉCRITURE CUNÉIFORME.* Par François Thureau-Dangin. Supplément à la *I^{re} Partie*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899. iv + 27 pp.

³ Reviewed in *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES*, Vol. XV, pp. 148 *seqq.*

Nos. 311, 312, 313, and 51; and has newly identified a few characters. In three cases, after some discussion of the different original characters which have become absorbed into the modern forms, his conclusions arrived at are not in agreement with his previous opinion. The first of these (No. 11) is a discussion of BAD, TIL, in which he reverses his former decision, and concludes these two readings belong to the same original form, and that the second original form should be read *iti*, *idim*, etc. The second discussion (No. 224), covering four pages, is an attempt to unravel the tangle in which the modern GIR (= šēpu, nēru, emūqu) has become involved through its having become the coalescence of two primitive forms—and these primitive forms, too, have each more than one modern representative. Under No. 419, on the basis of Sb, he finds that the sign read *mes*, *sangu*, represents two quite distinct primitive forms, and these forms are distinctly identified in the archaic inscriptions.

The work is done in the same neat autographic style characteristic of Ire Partie, and adds facts of real value for a study of the primitive cuneiform writing. We have noted a couple of slips of the pen: No. 79 should be 82, and 188 should be 187.

The further researches of M. Thureau-Dangin are awaited with interest by all lovers of Assyriology and the early history of the human race.

IRA M. PRICE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

GREEK AND LATIN LOAN-WORDS IN TALMUD, MIDRASH, AND TARGUM.¹

The second part of this work brings the classical loan-words in ancient Hebrew and Aramaic literatures in alphabetical order. Pp. 1–594 contain the dictionary proper; pp. 594–615, supplementary notes; pp. 617–84, two indexes of Greek and Latin words; and pp. 685–7, corrections of misprints.

Every article contains references, frequently complete, to the sources; and the explanations of predecessors are quoted, and sometimes discussed. The contributions of the ripe scholarship of Dr. Löw enhance the work greatly. Besides the notes in the body of the work, to the last-named scholar belong the indexes, preceded by prefatory remarks, from which we quote the following passage: "Das alphabetische Verzeichniss weist nahezu 1160 Lehnwörter, auf die allein sich phonetische Untersuchungen stützen dürfen, und etwa 295 Fremdwörter nach. Für ungefähr 800 Wörter kann ich die Meinung des Herrn Verfassers nicht theilen. Ich bezeichne diese häufig für gut semitisches Sprachgut in Vorschlag gebrachten Identificationen mit ??, d. h. unwahrscheinlich, oder 0, d. h. unmöglich, und betrachte diesen Widerspruch gegen die mir

¹ GRIECHISCHE UND LATHEINISCHE LEHNWÖRTER IM TALMUD, MIDRASCH UND TARGUM. Von Samuel Krauss. Mit Bemerkungen von Immanuel Löw. Preisgekrönte Lösung der Lattes'schen Preisfrage. Teil II. Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1899. x+687 pp.; 8vo. M. 28.

unannehmbar scheinenden Ergebnisse als den wesentlicheren Theil meines Beitrages zu dem Werke, dessen Verfasser ich sowohl für seine selbstlose Hingebung an die Wissenschaft als auch für die selbstverläugnende Bescheidenheit, mit der er im eigenen Hause gegentheiliger Meinung das Wort gönnte, aufrichtige Hochachtung schulde" (p. 622).

The indexes are intended primarily for the use of classical students. The first index is arranged in forty groups, according to subjects. The second is arranged alphabetically. Every word is accompanied by sigla showing the degree of probability of its correct identification, the sources where it is found, and its eventual occurrence in Arabic, Syriac and its dialects, Palmyrenian, Armenian, Persian, and Turkish. The work is a model of scholarly method and patient research, and, though it has not solved all the riddles, will remain the standard work on the subject for a long time to come. A few remarks may follow.

A number of the words accepted in the dictionary have been explained by me in my *Talmudic Grammar*, namely: אבולא (§ 953, n. 1), אירס (§ 951, n. 1), אסקריא (§ 952, n. 3), אפריון (§ 790), אקרוקחא (§ 970), אריון (§ 959, n. 2), וכתא (§ 856, n. 9), זעטוט, זאטוט (§ 975, n. 4), מרגלית (§ 981), פומון (§ 967, n. 2), צתירה (§ 982, n. 2), קוסטא (§ 800), קרינא (§ 967, n. 3), קרקפל (§ 967, n. 4). For אודיא and ארא cf. my explanations in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIII, p. 309, and Vol. XIV, p. 130.

To this I would add that the Syriac form אַבְלָא does as little demand the vocalization אַבְלָא as אַבְלָא demands אַבְלָא; that זעטוט might as well have been a Hebrew as an Aramaic word. The Syriac סַבְבָּא, which Lōw mentions in this connection, goes back to Arab. ثَظ "thin-bearded." For the equation ט = ث cf. טְהַמְטָא = טְהַמְטָא "trunk" = תְּרִטְוִמָא = חֲרָמָא "point of shoe;" Hebr. סֶעַר "storm" = تَوْرَكان "whirlwind of dust," with stem amplified by ע. Assy. šāru still shows no trace of an ע. For בילוניא Menōrath ha-māōr, ed. Padua reads גליונא זורג is vocalized in ספורי מעשיות, ed. Gaster, § XVI, זורג. On אחתירא cf. Jensen, ZA., Vol. XIV, p. 183, n. 1.

איקא seems to be an apocopated form of עיקר = Eth. ḥarge "ram, wether, he-goat" = Somali orgi "he-goat," Hausa rago "ram," orraki a certain breed of asses. The latter may be the same as عَنَاق = Assy. unīqu "he-goat," and this, as Lōw suggests, = אַקָּי; or איקא may stand for עִינְקָא; cf., however, Hausa akwia "goat."—טייד and all the forms mentioned there go back to Eth. ṭar'a = Amh. ṭārrā "to cry, appeal," as ṭārrā "invoke" God or saints = Arab. أَطَرَى "eulogize" = צרח. For the interchange of ר and ד cf. my Grammar, § 36.—מוק is explained in a marginal note in ספורי מעשיות, p. 78, as מנעל שלדעץ, i. e., "sabots." The variant מורחא or מורחה (ed. Wilna) is not a mistake, as Lōw supposes. We have two variant readings in Sanh. 95a.

According to one version פתקיה בריש מוקיה, to which ספורי מעשיות (§ CLV) correctly adds עלה. This is to be translated: "He (Abišoi) hurled it (the spindle, having stuck it) in the point of his sabot on her." Levy's translation (s. v. מוקא) is both against grammar, as פתקיה does not mean "I threw it," and against common-sense, as by hitting the point of his shoe with the spindle she could not kill him. The other version reads: פתקיה ברישמ ורה "he threw it on her ריש-מוחא." The ריש מוחא is evidently a part of the human anatomy opposed to the ארעית מוחא. The first means perhaps "the brain," the latter, "the cerebellum." But it is altogether possible that ריש מוקא = מוחא = מוקא. מוקא may be an apocopated form of מוקר, emph. st. מוקרא "brain." For the confusion in the gender of the pronoun

many examples could be cited.—סטרא I connect with أسطادة (Dozy) in the sense of ambubaia. That of that kind of woman may be well said סטת דא מבעלה is too well known.—On סרגל cf. Bachrach, אשתדלות עם שדל, pp. 140 sq.—פיקס is connected by the author with biblical Hebr. פקש! Where does such a word exist?—פלקחא does not come from πλάγξ, which latter is itself a Semitic loan-word (cf. my Grammar, § 833, n. 2), but goes back to قفل.—פלתא is neither Greek (Krauss) nor a corruption (Löw); but goes back to فل "be notchy." For development of meaning see my Grammar, § 963, n. 1.—שכלי is probably Arab. سلكة "the young of a partridge," or = سلكوت (Wahrmund).—On תמחורי cf. Joseph Schwarz' "Recension" of Rapa-port's מלין ערד, p. 22.

C. LEVIAS.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE,
Cincinnati, O.

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THE URIM AND THUMMIM.

A SUGGESTION AS TO THEIR ORIGINAL NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE.

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT,
The University of Chicago.*

I.

We have been taught since the days of the Alexandrian translators of the Old Testament that אֱרִיִּים וְתֻמִּיִּים mean "revelation and truth" (δηλώσις καὶ ἀλήθεια), or "lights and perfections" (φωτισμοὶ καὶ τελεότητες); the τελειότης καὶ διδασχὴ of Symmachus (translated by Jerome: *Perfectio et doctrina*; see Field's *Hexapla* on Deut. 33:8); the φωτισμοὶ and τελειώσεις of Aquila and Theodotion). The Vulgate accordingly renders the terms by *doctrina* (after Symmachus' διδασχὴ; old Latin: *ostensio* or *demonstratio*) et *veritas*. This notion as to the meaning of the two Hebrew words has maintained itself so tenaciously through the Middle Ages down to our days that it seems almost impossible to gain a hearing for any other view. But that there is no foundation for such a view in the Old Testament itself, when correctly understood, an examination of the few passages where the words occur will readily show. These are the passages:

Exod. 28:13-30 describes the high-priestly ephod and the breastplate with the Ūrim and Tummīm. It is called in vs. 15

*The author begs leave to express his thanks to Professors Ernest D. Burton, George F. Moore, and Henry Preserved Smith, and to Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, of the U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C., for examining this article in proof and adding valuable material and references.

a "breastplate of judgment" (חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט); it was to be four-square and double. The twelve stones mentioned in vs. 17 were not put inside of the חֹשֶׁן, but on the outside. "And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgment upon his heart, when he goes in unto the holy place, for a memorial before the Lord continually. And thou shalt put into the breastplate of judgment the Ūrim and the Tummim;¹ and they shall be upon Aaron's heart when he goeth in before the Lord; and Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually" (vss. 29, 30).

The חֹשֶׁן of the high priest was a small bag, or pouch, worn upon the breast, to hold the Ūrim and Tummim; it was called חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט by the people, because of the decisions which were supposed to be given by means of the Ūrim and Tummim. It was made of the same material as the high-priestly עֹפֶת, a span square, set in front with twelve jewels in four rows, engraved with the names of the twelve tribes.

In Leviticus, chap. 8, Moses consecrates Aaron and his sons as priests in compliance with the command given in Exod. 29:1-37. Vss. 7, 8 read: "And he [Moses] put upon him [Aaron] the coat [cf. Exod. 28:4], and girded him with the girdle and clothed him with the robe, and put the ephod upon him, and he girded him with the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and bound it unto him therewith. And he put the breastplate upon him: and he put in the breastplate the Ūrim and the Tummim."²

Deuteronomy, chap. 33, contains "the blessing of Moses." Vs. 8 reads: "And of Levi he said: Thy Tummim and thy Ūrim are with thy godly one, whom thou didst prove at Massah, with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah."—*Steuernagel, Deuteronomium*,³ p. 125, translates: "Thy Tummim and thy Ūrim belong unto him that is devoted to thee; whom thou didst prove at Massah, and for whom thou didst fight at Meribah."—*Bertholet, Deuteronomium*,⁴ p. 106: "Give unto Levi thy Tummim;

¹ LXX has καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δέλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. On מִשְׁפָּט = justice, see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XI (1892), pp. 206-11.

² וַיִּתֵּן אֵל הַחֹשֶׁן אֶת הָאֲוִרִים וְאֶת הַתֻּמִּיִּם = καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τὴν δέλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. The LXX translator mistook אֵל (Lev. 8:8) for אֶל (Exod. 28:14, 23 seq.) ["Heb. Sam. reads אֶל; cf. Peesh."—George F. Moore]; cf. also Exod. 28:16, 21; Numb. 19:17; Deut. 28:25.

³ "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," herausgegeben von W. Nowack. I. Abtheilung, 3. Band, 1. Theil (Göttingen, 1896).

⁴ "Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," herausgegeben von Karl Marti. Abtheilung V (Freiburg, 1890).

and thy Ur̄im to thy favorites, whom thou didst prove," etc.—Gesenius-Brown, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1891), p. 22: "Thy Thummim and thy Ur̄im has the man of favour," i. e., the Levite, tested at Massah and Meribah.—Driver, *Deuteronomy* ("International Critical Commentary"), 1895, p. 398: "Thy Thummim and thy Ur̄im be for the man, thy godly one, whom thou didst prove at Massah, with whom thou contendedst at the waters of Meribah." See also Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 156, 157.—Baudissin, *Geschichte des Alttest. Priestertums*, p. 76, thinks that "thy godly one" was either Aaron or Moses, as representative of the whole tribe of Levi. Later on he says: "Der Fromme Jahwe's ist, so scheint es, Aaron."

The most important passage for the right conception of the Ur̄im and Tummim is 1 Sam. 14:41, where Wellhausen and Driver⁵ have amended the Massoretic text, on the basis of the Septuagint, to read as follows: "And Saul said: Lord, God of Israel, why hast thou not answered thy servant this day? If this iniquity (guilt) be in me or in Jonathan my son, Lord, God of Israel, give Ur̄im; but if it be in thy people Israel, give Tummim.⁶ Then Jonathan and Saul were taken by lot; and the people escaped." "Δῆλοι (LXX) stands for אֱלֹהִים (28:6 and Numb. 27:21; as δῆλωσις in Exod. 28:26; Lev. 8:8). . . . The amended text (which is accepted, amongst others, by Dr. Weir) shews (what has often been surmised independently) that the מִשְׁפַּט הָאֱלֹהִים was a mode of casting lots" (Driver, p. 89).—H. P. Smith, *The Books of Samuel*,⁷ p. 122: "Urim and Thummim were two objects used in the lot—perhaps stones of different colours (following Ewald, *Geschichte*, Vol. III, p. 309; *Antiquities*, p. 295)—one of which gave the affirmative, the other gave the negative, answer to a question put in the form already indicated."

⁵ Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel (Oxford, 1890), p. 89. Also Budde, *The Books of Samuel* (SBOT., edid. Haupt), p. 63. This conjecture was made long ago (1842) by Thénius in the first edition of his commentary on the books of Samuel ("Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch"). See Lagarde, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1885, Vol. I, p. 75. The הָאֱלֹהִים of the Massoretic text is an arbitrary change of the correct הָאֱלֹהִים.

⁶ H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, p. 122, translates: "but if thus thou say: 'It is in my people: give Tummim:'" also see p. 124. The Septuagint (Cod. B) reads as follows: Καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; ἢ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωραβὰν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἢ ἀδικία, Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, δὸς δῆλους (אֱלֹהִים): καὶ εἰς τὰς εἰς, δὸς δὴ τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραὴλ, δὸς δὴ δούττητα (i. e., רַבְרָה תִּמְמִים). GL, i. e., Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum*, pars I, p. 275, has this reading: Καὶ εἰ τὰς εἰς εἶπας Ἐν τῷ λαῷ ἢ ἀδικία, δὸς δούττητα: καὶ κατακληροῦνται Σαουλ καὶ Ἰωραβὰν, καὶ ἐξήλθεν ὁ λαός.

⁷ In "The International Critical Commentary." New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1890. See also Kirkpatrick, *The First Book of Samuel* ("The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges"), 1891, p. 137.

1 Sam. 28:3-6: "Samuel had died, and all Israel had mourned for him, and had buried him in Ramah, his city. And Saul had removed the talismans and necromantic charms [so H. P. Smith] from the land. And the Philistines gathered themselves together, and came and pitched in Shunem: and Saul gathered all Israel together, and they pitched in Gilboa. And when Saul saw the host of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled. And when Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by *Ūrīm*, nor by prophets."

Here we have three methods of divine communication in the Old Testament: (1) The dream-oracle (cf. Numb. 12:6; 1 Kings 3:4 *sqq.*), of which frequent mention is made also in Assyrian and Babylonian literature. Thus, *e. g.*, the dream-vision of Gudea,⁸ and numerous references in the *Gilgamesh (Nimrod) Epic*.⁹ In a hymn to the god Šamaš, published by Brūnnow (in *ZA.*, Vol. IV, pp. 7 *sqq.*), we read that the interpretation of dreams (*pašēru šunāte*) was the specific function of the *šā'ilu*.¹⁰ There appears as interpreter of dreams also the *šabrū* (a word compounded, probably, of *ša* + *barī*, Jensen, *ZA.*, Vol. VII, p. 174, rm. 1, = "der Mann des Sehens"). It is quite possible that the interpretation of dreams reverts ultimately also to the functions of the *bārū*, "seer" (Smith, *Ašurbanipal*, 123, 50).¹¹ Also the *maxxū*-priest appears as interpreter of dreams;¹² and in *Ašurbanipal*, Cyl. A, col. v, 97-102,¹³ Ištar sends a dream-vision to the troops of *Ašurbanipal*, saying unto them: "I go before *Ašurbanipal* the king, whom my hands have created." Trusting in this dream, they advanced victoriously and defeated their enemies. (2) The oracle by means of the *Ūrīm*; here, undoubtedly, an abbreviation for the *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm*. (3) The oracle by the word of the prophets, found among all Semitic nations.

⁸ H. Zimmern in *ZA.*, Vol. III, pp. 232-5.

⁹ *NE.* (Haupt), p. 14, 14: *šu-na-ta aṭ-ṭul mu-ši-ti-ja* (cf. 6, 45; 13, 15); 49, 209: *šu-na-ta i-na-aṭ-ṭal* "he saw a dream, he had a dream-vision;" 50, 29 *sq.*; 55, 20: *ū-um šutta iṭ-ṭu-lu*; also cf. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, Nos. 6, 116; 10; 18; 12, 113; 6, 43 *sq.*; 13, 24; IV R² 59, No. 2 b 21, 22, 23; 57 b 44. Nabd. *Scheil*, vi, 21, 22.

¹⁰ K. 3187 (*ZA.*, Vol. IV, p. 8), ll. 51-2.

¹¹ *Ina šat mu-ši šu-a-tu ša am-xu-ru-ši | ištēn (amš) šab-ru-u u-tu-ul-ma i-na-(aṭ)-ṭal šutta | i-gi-il-ti-ma tab-rit mu-ši | ištā u-šab-ru-u-šu | u-ša-an-na-a* (*KB.*, Vol. II, pp. 250-1); V R. 3, 120: *šabrū i-na-aṭ-ṭa-al šutta*.

¹² *Ibid.* (pp. 252-6), l. 95: *ina idāti šutti egirre šī-pir max-xi-e*.

¹³ *Ištar a-ši-bat (ab) Arba-ilu ina šat mu-ši | a-na ummānāti-ja šutta u-šab-ri-ma | ki-a-am iṭ-bi-šu-nu-ti | um-ma a-na-ku al-lak ina ma-xar Ašur-bān-aplu | šarri ša ib-na-a qātā-a-a e-li šutti an-ni-ti ummānāti-ja ir-xu-qu, etc.*

The only other instance of actual consultation of Yahweh by means of the Ūrim and Tummīm mentioned in the Old Testament is found in Numb. 27:21, where it is said: "And he [Joshua] shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel (or inquire) for him after (by) the judgment of Ūrim (δῆλοι) before the Lord: at his word shall they go out, and at his word shall they come in, both he, and all the children of Israel with him, even all the congregation." Eleazar was the high priest. Moses was permitted by the Lord to address him directly. Joshua and his successors could do this only through the mediation of the high priest and by means of the Ūrim and Tummīm.

Ezra 2:63 = Neh. 7:65 states: "And the Tirshatha" said unto them," that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there stood up a priest with Ūrim and Tummīm (LXX: *Καὶ τοῖς τελείοις*; alia exempl. *ταῖς τελειώσεσι*)." ¹⁴ It is quite probable that the age of Ezra and Nehemiah was no longer cognizant of the nature of the Ūrim and Tummīm. Post-exilic Israel had neither the sacred breastplate nor the Ūrim and Tummīm. This passage tacitly contradicts the assertion of Josephus, *Antiquities*, III, 8, 9 (end), that the Ūrim and Tummīm only first failed in the Maccabean era." "The Ūrim and Tummīm, along with the Ark, the Shechinah, the Holy Fire, the Spirit of Prophecy, the Oil of Anointing, constituted the chief points, for the absence of which the Jews of later times deplored the deficiency of Zerubabel's Temple as compared with that of Solomon" (H. E. Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 32, in "The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges;" Mishna *Sotā* 9:12; Tos. *Sotā* 13:2; Jer. *Kiddushim* 4:1; Josephus, *Antiquities*, III, 8, 9, end).—Ecclus. 33:3 ¹⁵ may possibly prove a knowledge of the tradition concerning the

¹⁴ I. e., his excellency, by which the writer means the governor Sheeshbazzar (= Sin-bal-uqur); see Geo. Hoffmann, *ZA.*, Vol. II, p. 52, rm. 1; Gesenius¹³, p. 877.

¹⁵ To the returned Jews (mentioned in the preceding verses) who "sought their register among those that were reckoned by genealogy, but they were not found: therefore were they deemed polluted, and were put from the priesthood." See on this period of Jewish history especially Eduard Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, Halle, 1896, p. 194; also cf. Baudissin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 140, 141.

¹⁶ Compare 1 Macc. 4:46, (Judas and the blameless priests, whom he had chosen) pulled down the altar (which had been profaned) and laid up the stones in the mountain of the house in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to give an answer concerning them. 14:41. The Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high priest forever, until there should arise a faithful prophet.

¹⁷ "However, the breastplate and sardonyx left off shining two hundred years before I composed this work, God having been displeased at the transgression of his laws" (B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi opera*, Vol. I, p. 202).

¹⁸ "A man of understanding will put his trust in the law; and the law is faithful unto him, as when one asketh at the oracle." Professor H. P. Smith calls my attention to Ryssel's

use of the Ūrim and the Tummim, but it cannot be inferred from it that answers were received, at that time, by means of the Ūrim and the Tummim.

The Ūrim and the Tummim are implied, also, wherever in the earlier history of Israel mention is made of asking counsel of the Lord (= Yahweh) by means of the ephod.¹⁹ Thus, in Josh. 9:14, "And the men took of their victuals, and asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord" (cf. Numb. 27:21).²⁰—Judg. 1:1, "Now, after the death of Joshua, it came to pass that the children of Israel asked the Lord, saying," etc. Vs. 2, "And the Lord said," etc.²¹ 20:18, "And the children of Israel arose, and went up to the house of God, and asked counsel of God (יְהוָה), and said, Which of us shall go up first to the battle against the children of Benjamin? And the Lord said, Judah shall go up first;"²² vs. 23, "And the children of Israel went up [to Beth-el] and wept before the Lord until even, and asked counsel of the Lord," etc. Also see vss. 26–28 (Budde, *Buch der Richter*, pp. 135, 136), where the mention of the ark is rather out of place; Bertheau, Budde, and others have, therefore, cut out vss. 27b and 28aa as late glosses, supplementing one the other.—In 1 and 2 Samuel the Ūrim and Tummim are consulted chiefly by Saul and by David. By Saul in 1 Sam. 10:22 (vss. 19–22, when Saul is chosen king); 14:3, 36 sqq., and vs. 18, where, with LXX, we must read: "Saul said unto Ahijah: Bring hither the ephod; for he carried the ephod at that time before the children of Israel."²³ 1 Sam. 14:41 and

translation in Kautsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (Freiburg, 1899), p. 394: "Der Verständige setzt sein Vertrauen aufs Gesetz, und das Gesetz bewährt sich ihm als zuverlässig wie eine Frage an die Urim." In a footnote Ryssel says: "Statt δικάων ist mit Sin., GAL. u. a. Handschr. (die mit L meist δηλω) ["wie einer, der eine Frage aufstellt," was nach Hatch, p. 276, zum Folgenden zu sehen wäre.—kaum richtig], aber auch δηλω bieten) δηλω zu lesen (vgl. 45, 10 δηλοι [ἀληθείας] für יְהוָה und ebenso in LXX). Der Gedanke ist: wie eine Frage an die Urim und Tummim richtig beantwortet wird."

¹⁹ "The preposition כִּי in connection with יְהוָה followed by the name of God is to be explained as originally of local signification" (Geo. F. Moore). On the nature of the יְהוָה see especially Moore, *Judges* ("International Critical Commentary"), 1895, pp. 330 sqq., where copious references and literature are given. [Also article "Ephod" in Vol. II of *Encyclopædia Biblica*.—George F. Moore.]

²⁰ Cf. Maclear, *Joshua* ("Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges," 1892), pp. 80, 81. See also Josh. 7:14–18, the story of Achan and the discovery of his theft.

²¹ See Budde, *Das Buch der Richter* ("Kurser Hand-Commentar zum A. T."), pp. 2, 3; Moore, *Judges*, 1895, pp. 10–13; Lias, *Judges*, pp. 43, 44, 197.

²² The whole verse is rejected by Bertheau, Budde, and others, as a later gloss taken from 1:1; see also Moore, pp. 431–5.

²³ See Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, pp. 83, 84, whom it has escaped that Keil had made this suggestion many years before him; Budde, *The Books of Samuel* (= *SBOT.*), p. 62; H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, pp. 111 sq.; Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie*, Bd. II, pp. 93 sq.

28:6, see above.—By David in 1 Sam. 22:10, 13; 23:2, 4, 6, 9–12, where David asked counsel of the Lord four times by means of the ephod (i. e., the Ūrim and the Tummim), and the Lord answered him each time. 30:7 sq., “And David [at Ziklag] said to Abiathar the priest, Ahimelech’s son, I pray thee, bring me hither the ephod. And Abiathar brought thither the ephod. And David inquired at the Lord, saying, Shall I pursue after this troop? shall I overtake them? And he answered him, Pursue: for thou shalt surely overtake them, and without fail recover all.” 2 Sam. 2:1; 5:19, 23 sq.; 21:1.

In all cases, except 1 Sam. 10:22 and 2 Sam. 5:23 sq., the answer is either Yes or No. It has been suggested by Riehm and others that these two passages have undergone editorial changes.

After the death of David no instance is mentioned in the Old Testament of consulting the Lord by means of the Ūrim and Tummim, or the ephod. This desuetude is undoubtedly occasioned by the growing influence of Old Testament prophecy (see, however, Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 473). Professor Moore calls my attention to Lagarde’s conjecture on Ps. 43:3, and to the fact that אֲרָר is intended also in Hos. 6:5.

II.

These are the passages in the Old Testament where the Ūrim and Tummim are mentioned, either directly or by implication. Before expressing our own view on the original nature and significance of this oracle, it may not be out of place to quote some of the ancient and, especially, modern explanations²⁴ of these mysterious instruments through which Yahweh communicated his will to his chosen people.

Josephus, *Antiquities*, III, 8, 9,²⁵ and some of the rabbins were of the opinion that this sacred lot (or oracle) of the Israelites was identical with the gems of the breastplate, and that

²⁴ In addition to those mentioned in the preceding sections.

²⁵ Nieze, Vol. I, pp. 201 sq.: “Now as to those stones which I said before the high priest wore on his shoulders, which were sardonyxes (I think it needless to describe their nature, as they are known to everybody); one of them sparkled when God was present at their worship, namely, the one that served as a clasp on the right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence, and being seen even by persons at a very great distance, though this was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as do not cultivate wisdom in contempt of religion. But I will mention what is still more wonderful than this, that God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bore on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendor shone forth from them before the army began to march that all the people were sensible of God’s presence for their assistance. So those Greeks who had a regard for

the splendor shining forth from them indicated God's presence for the assistance of the Israelites. It is not quite correct to maintain that Philo's opinion (*De Vita Mos.*, pp. 670 C, 672 D, E (Mangey, Vol. II, p. 152), and *De Monarch.*, p. 824 A) was that the oracle consisted in the two small images or symbols of "light and righteousness," embroidered into the cunningly woven breastplate of the high priest, like the oracle-images of Egypt (*Diodorus Siculus*, I, 48, 75; *Aelian, Var. Hist.*, 14, 34).²⁶

The views of mediæval exegetes of the Christian church, as well as those of the theologians of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, are carefully registered in that monumental work of Ludwig Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testamentes in der christlichen Kirche* (Jena, 1869), pp. 515, 525, 546, 748; also in the same scholar's article, "Urim," in the *Protestantische Realencyclopädie* (Vol. XVI, pp. 746 sqq.), revised for the second edition (Vol. XVI, pp. 226 sqq.) by Kautzsch.

Catholic commentators, generally, follow in the footsteps of the great Cardinal Bellarmin, who defended the Vulgate translation and derived *Urim* from *יָרִיב* "to teach" and *Tummim* from *יָמִינִי* "be true," thus = *doctrina et veritas*.

Knobel (*Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, Erster Theil, 1837, p. 5, rm. 2) and others were of the opinion that the breastplate and the *Urim* and *Tummim* were an imitation of the breastplate

our customs, as they could not possibly contradict this, called the breastplate the oracle." Cf. *Antiquities*, VIII, 3, 8; P. Grünbaum, *Die Priestergesetze bei Flavius Josephus* (Halle-Wittenberg, 1887), pp. 52 sq. The rabbins assert that, by means of the *Urim*, those letters which belonged to the answer shone in peculiar fulgency, either simultaneously or successively, while the *Tummim* taught the high priest in which order they were to be read and composed into words; and since the names of the twelve tribes do not contain all the letters of the alphabet, it is asserted that those of the patriarchs were added. Professor Moore calls my attention to Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, Tome I, p. 197, rm. 2: "Apulée (*Metam.*, lib. IX, 2) cite un oracle perpétuel employé par des prêtres syriens: Les bœufs attelés fendent la terre, afin que les campagnes produisent leurs fruits."

²⁶ Professor Moore writes to me as follows: "If you will look up the passage [in Philo] you will see how Spencer (and some before him) fell into this error: he etymologized *ἀγαλματοφῶν* 'support images,' and inferred that Philo represented the *θεοὶ ἀπειράτοι*, *ἀήλωνες* and *ἀλήθεια* as little idols. An examination of Philo's usage of the word, or of other late writers, shows that this literal etymology is entirely false. Mangey, in his note on the passage, proves this conclusively, and I have some other material to the same effect. Spencer, however, did not imagine the images woven or embroidered on the *יָוִי*; that results from someone's attempt to reconcile Spencer's 'images' with Philo in *De Monarchia* (Mangey, II, 226), *ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ λογίου διττὰ ἀφάσματα καταποικίλλει κ. τ. λ.*; and the Egyptian parallels from Diod. and Aelian were not 'embroidered.'"

²⁷ *Ἀγαλματοφῶν* "to carry an image; to carry the image (idea) of anything in one's own mind;" see Sophocles, *Greek Lexikon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, New York, 1887, p. 62. It is used by Philo; Athenagoras 997 B. (*Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. VI); Origen. III, 381 A; Euseb., II, 860 A, B, 872 B. Zonaras, *Lexicon*, 35: "*Ἀγαλματοφορούμενος*, ἀγάλματα, ἧτοι τύπους τῶν νοηθέντων φέρων ἐν ἑαυτῷ. Οὕτω Φίλων."

of the Egyptian high priest, which he wore on his breast during legal trials.²⁷ The analogy, however, is more superficial than real.²⁸

Bähr, *Symbolik*, Vol. II (pp. 134–41), thinks of something within a bag, a sacred pledge to the high priest of the enlightenment and perfection which he would receive from the Lord, when called upon to make sacred decisions.

Kalisch, *Exodus* (1855), p. 544, sees the sacred pledge in the twelve sacred gems themselves, that stimulate the priest to self-sacrifice and perfect sanctification.

August Köhler, *Lehrbuch der biblischen Gesch. Alten Testaments*, I (1875), pp. 349–50: "Gestalt und Beschaffenheit der U. und T. ist unbekannt; jedenfalls waran sie körperliche Gegenstände, welche von dem Hohepriester auf oder wahrscheinlicher in seinem Brustschilde getragen wurden. . . . Später gelten die Aussprüche der Propheten dem Alten Testamente als eine *Fortsetzung* der Willensäußerung Jehovah's." Also see Vol. II, 2, 557, rm. (against Smend, *Die Listen der Bücher Esra und Nehemiah*, p. 18; Stade, *Geschichte*³, Vol. II, pp. 103 sqq.; Ewald, *Geschichte*³, Vol. IV, p. 222).

J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*⁴ (1886), p. 412, rm. 1, says: "Die Thummim hat Freytag (*Lexic. Arabicum* unter *tammat*)²⁹ ausserordentlich glücklich mit den arabischen *Tamāim* verglichen. Urim hängt vielleicht mit אֲרִי zusammen (vgl. Iliad 1, 11, und Numb. 22:23); die beiden Worte der Formel scheinen sich gegensätzlich zu ergänzen." In his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* ("Reste arabischen Heidentums"), 2d ed., Vol. III, pp. 144, 167, Wellhausen rejects this interpretation of Freytag and Lagarde, and maintains that Arabic *tamīma* is simply the translation of the Greek τέλεσμα. "Urim und Thummim müssen ursprünglich zwei Lose gewesen sein, denen bei dem Orakel eine beliebige Alternative als Bedeutung beigelegt wurde."

W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (2d ed., London, 1895), p. 292, note 1, writes: "In ancient times the priestly oracle of Urim and Thummim was a sacred lot. . . .

²⁷ Also the names of the oracle were derived from the Egyptian, tummim from Egyptian *ma + article = tma* = "truth;" and ūrim from Coptic *eroyōini* = "illumination, revelation."

²⁸ See Vatke, *Religion*, p. 681; Dillmann on Exod. 28:30; Riehm, "Licht und Recht" in his *Handwörterbuch*, Vol. I, p. 916; Baudissin, *Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priestertums* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 70, 71. Hommel, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (1897), pp. 280, 281, argues again for the Egyptian origin of the אֲרִי and the Urim and Thummim.

²⁹ The same observation was made also, independently of Freytag, by Paul de Lagarde in his *Prophetæ chaldaice*, p. xlvii.

This sacred lot was connected with the ephod, which in the time of the Judges was something very like an idol. Spencer, therefore, seems to be right in assuming a resemblance in point of form between the priestly lot of the Urim and Thummim and divination by Teraphim (*De Legibus Ritualibus*, lib. III, c. 3).²⁰ So also Professor Moore (*Judges*, 1895, p. 382), who writes to me: "Spencer was not the first to point out this (Christ. de Castro, 1615, etc.)."

Schwally, in Stade's *ZATW.*, Vol. XI (1891), p. 172, says: "Der Eid ist ein bedingter Fluch, vgl. den Sprachgebrauch von אָלָה. Gerade der Zusammenhang von 'fluchen' und 'losen' schimmert noch in dem Urim- und Thummim-Orakel durch. Denn *Urim* gehört höchst wahrscheinlich zu אָרִיר fluchen."—In תַּמִּיּים Schwally finds the idea of "blessing" (בְּרִכָּה).

W. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie*, Bd. II (1894), pp. 93 sq., says: "Nach 1 Sam. 28:6, Deut. 33:8, etc., war das Mittel, wie die Befragung des Ephod geschah, die *urim* und *tummim*. Was aber unter diesen Ausdrücken zu verstehen ist, sagt keine Stelle, eine durchaus begreifliche Erscheinung, denn der älteren Zeit war diese Einrichtung bekannt, die spätere Zeit aber hatte selbst keine sichere Kenntnis davon. . . . Es waren wol zwei heilige Loose, beziehungsweise, Steine, von denen der eine bejahende, der andere verneinende Antwort bedeutete. Kam keines der Loose beim Werfen (הוֹרֶה) der Loose zum Vorschein, so wies das auf den Unwillen Jahwes, der die Antwort verweigerte (1 Sam. 14:37; 28:6). Die Bedeutung der Wörter Urim und Thummim ist völlig dunkel."²¹

H. Strack, in "Strack und Zöckler's Kurzgefasster Kommentar, Altes Testament," I. *Genesis-Numeri* (1894), p. 254: "Wir wissen nur, dass die Hohepriester vor dem Exil vermittelt der *U.* und *T.* Gottesbescheid einholten. Die *U.* und *T.* sind auch da gemeint wo einer Befragung Jahwes mittelst des Ephods Erwähnung geschieht; 1 Sam. 23:9; 30:7 bringt der Hohepriester Ebjathar den Ephod zu David. Hierher gehört auch 1 Sam. 14:3 und 37; vs. 18 ist (wie Keil anerkannt) nach LXX zu lesen."

Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priestertums untersucht* (1889), pp. 26, 27: "Der Hohepriester allein darf in dem Ornate, welchen er bei den gewöhnlichen heiligen

²⁰ Thus also Bertholet, *Deuteronomium* (1899); H. Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 4^{te} Aufl., p. 257, etc.

Handlungen anlegt, die Urim und Tummim tragen (Exod. 28:30; Lev. 8:8). Nur er kann das 'Recht der Urim vor Jahwe' verkündigen, wonach als göttlichem Orakel Israel sich zu richten hat (Num. 27:27)." Also see *ibid.*, pp. 140, 141, where on the basis of Neh. 7:65; Ezra 2:63 he says: "Es ist aber doch wohl unwahrscheinlich, dass erst ein exilisches oder nachexilisches Gesetz den Hohenpriester mit den Urim und Tummim ausstattete, ohne doch einen Repräsentanten dafür zu haben oder ohne über die Urim und Tummim zu verfügen." And in chap. viii, "Geschichtliches Ergebniss," Baudissin gives a sketch of the priestcraft in early Israel: "Wie es scheint, nur der jeweilige Oberpriester der grösseren Heiligthümer war im Besitz eines besonderen von dem linnenen unterschiedenen Ephod, in welchem die heiligen Orakel-Loose enthalten waren—das Vorbild der Urim und Tummim 'Licht und Recht' des späteren Hohenpriesters. Der zweite dieser Namen verweist noch darauf, dass die priesterliche Orakelertheilung ursprünglich vorzugsweise im Dienste der Rechtspflege stand. Um einen Rechtsstreit zu entscheiden, erschien man 'vor Gott,' d. h. man rief seine Entscheidung an durch die Loose des Priesters." (Cf. *ibid.*, p. 58 and rm. 1.)

Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (1894), pp. 382, 407, 408: "Bei den alten Israeliten treffen wir, abgesehen von dem was als Zauberei später für illegitim erklärt wurde, nur ein legitimes Orakelmittel: das *Losorakel*. Dieses erscheint in engster Verbindung mit dem Ephod. . . . Genauer erfahren wir (1 Sam. 14:41), dass das Orakel aus zwei Losen bestand, von denen das eine '*urim*', das andere '*tummim*' hiess. Ihre Gestalt und Bedeutung scheint allgemein bekannt gewesen zu sein. Gewöhnlich bedeuten die Lose Ja und Nein," etc.

Driver, *Leviticus* (Haupt's polychrome edition of the Old Testament), p. 71, says: "*U.* and *T.* literally: the lights and the perfections."

T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology*, 1898, p. 75:³¹ "The 'Urim and Thummim' were simply two stones put into the pocket attached to the high priest's ephod; on them were written some such words as 'yes' and 'no.' Whichever stone was taken out, the alternative word upon it was looked upon as the divine decision. . . . Cf. Jonah 1:7 *sqq.*, where we read the

³¹ Printed for the larger part in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV, No. 4.

mariners cast lots to find out on account of whom the storm was. No condemnation is expressed in the biblical narrative."²²

Thenius-Löhr, *Die Bücher Samuelis*, 1898 ("Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament"), p. 60: "Mit dem Ephod war unzertrennlich verbunden das heilige Loos. . . . Das heilige Loos zu handhaben, war Sache eines Berufspriesters. Dieses priesterliche Orakel existiert neben dem prophetischen. In älteren Zeiten scheint man das priesterliche dem prophetischen vorgezogen zu haben. Wenigstens hört David auf, Gad um Rat zu fragen, sobald Ebjathar mit dem Ephod zu ihm gekommen ist (1 Sam. 22:10; 23:9; 28:6; cf. 22:5)."

Kautzsch, in the *Textbibel des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (Freiburg, 1899), p. 288 of the "Appendix to the New Testament," merely says: "Urim und Tummim, d. h. wahrscheinlich 'Licht und Unschuld.' Die heiligen Lose, durch welche die Priester den Willen Gottes erkundeten. Wie es nach 1 Sam. 14:41 scheint brachte das Los Urim die Schuld dessen ans Licht, wegen dessen Gott befragt wurde, dagegen das Los Tummim die Unschuld."²³

Many other citations could be added to these, but all agree more or less closely with the views given above.²⁴

In general we may summarize, "that the Urim and Tummim have been identified with (a) stones in the high priest's breast-plate, (b) sacred dice, (c) little images of 'truth' and 'justice,' such as are found hung round the neck of an Egyptian priest's mummy" (Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 33).

²² That this passage should have anything to do with the Urim and Tummim is only one of the many strange idiosyncrasies found in this dissertation. For a general estimate of the book see Morris Jastrow, Jr., in this JOURNAL, Vol. XV, pp. 172, 173.

²³ See also Kautzsch in *Protestant. Realencyclopädie*, 2^{te} Aufl., Vol. XVI, pp. 227, 228.

²⁴ See Siegfried und Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testamente* (1893), p. 18; Winer, *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, 3^{te} Aufl., Bd. II (1848), pp. 643-8; Wittichen in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, Vol. 2 (1869), p. 408; and Steiner, *ibid.*, Vol. 5 (1875), pp. 851-3; G. Klaiber, *Das priesterliche Orakel der Israeliten*, Stuttgart, 1865; Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, 2^{te} Aufl., Vol. I, pp. 914-18; Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 156, 471-3, 505 sq., 517 sq.; Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (1893), pp. 175, 253. Additional literature is also found in Knobel, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, Vol. I, p. 5, rm. 2; Kalisch, *Exodus*, pp. 542-5; Ad. Kinsler, *Die biblischen Altertümer*, 6^{te} Aufl. (Calw und Stuttgart), 1884, pp. 127-9; and Robert Tuck, *A Handbook of Biblical Difficulties*, New York (no date), Vol. I, pp. 431-3.—S. F. Hancock, "The Urim and the Thummim," *Old Testament Student* (Vol. III, March, 1884, pp. 252-6), is quite unsatisfactory; as is also H. E. Doaker, "The Urim and Thummim," *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, October, 1892, pp. 717-30. Urim, according to Doaker, is the means of divine revelation, while Thummim that of divine decision and judgment, both constituting the legitimate priestly revelation of God in contrast to the presumably illegitimate one by means of the teraphim. A very convenient summary is also given in Kirkpatrick, *The First Book of Samuel*, pp. 217, 218, with which compare the article "Urim and Thummim" in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (London), Vol. III (1893), pp. 1600-1606.

III.

The first tablet of the Babylonian account of the creation, of which thus far only mutilated copies have been found, relates the creation of the gods Luchmu and Lachamu, An-šar, and Ki-šar; Anu, Bēl, and Ēa; and probably also of the other gods. Chaos was giving place to order. But the gods were not allowed to live in peace, for Tiāmat, their mother, turned in hatred against them, and with their father Apsū, the primeval ocean, plotted their destruction. The first tablet ends with a description of the eleven monsters which Tiāmat spawned to aid her in the fight against the gods; and

i-na ilāni bu-uk-ri-ša šu-par
(?ut) iš-ku-nu[-ši pu-ux-ru?]
u-ša-aš-qi ⁽¹¹⁾ Kin-gu ina bi-
ri-šu-nu ša-a-šu [uš-rab-bi]
a-li-kut max-ri pa-an um-
ma-nim-u'-ir-u-ut pu-ux-ri
na-aš ⁽¹²⁾ kakkē ti-iḡ-bu-tu ti-
bu-u a-na[-an-ti]
šu-par(?ut) tam-xa-ri ra-
ab(-)šik-ka-tu-tu(-ti)
ip-qid-ma [qa]-tuš-šu u-še-ši-
bā-aš-šu ina [karri (kussi?)]
a(d)-di ta-a-ka ina puxur
ilāni u-šar-bi-ka

ma-li-kut (-ku-ut) ilāni gim-
ra[-at]-su-nu qa-tuk[?]-ka
uš-mal-li]
lu-u-šur-ba-ta-(m)a xa-'i-ri
e-du-u at-ta
li-ir-tab-bu-u zik-ru-ka eli
kāl[? kibrāti?]

To prove this and to show to the other gods that Kingu was, indeed, supreme,

id-din(-šum)-ma tup-šimāti
i-ra-at-su u-šat-me-ix

ka-ta qib[it-]ka la in-nin-
na[-a li-kun ḡi-it pi-i-ka]

in-na-nu ⁽¹¹⁾ Ki-(i)n-gu šu-uš-
qu-u le(?)-qu-u [il a-nu-ti]
ana ilāni [ma-r]i-e-šu (= ša)
ši-ma[-tu iš-ti-mu]

She exalted among the gods her sons, whom she had borne, Kingu, and made him greatest among them (saying):

"To march before the host, let that be thy mission, Command the battle-signal, the advance to the attack."

To be foremost in war, supreme in the fight,

She intrusted to him, and placed him upon a throne (saying):

"With my charm and spell I have raised thee to power among the gods.

The dominion over all the gods I have intrusted to thee.

Lofty thou shalt be, thou my chosen(?) spouse;

Great be thy name in all [the world?]."

She gave him the *Tablets of Destiny*, and laid them upon his breast (saying):³⁵

"Thy command be never annulled, the word of thy mouth be authority."

Thus exalted and having received the power of Anu,³⁶

Kingu ruled over the gods, her children.³⁷

³⁵ I. e., hung them around his neck.

³⁶ Equaling Anu in power.

³⁷ For text and translation see Friedrich Delitzsch, *Das babylonische Welterschöpfungsepos* (Leipzig, 1886), 160 pp.—Peter Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassburg, 1890), pp. 261-264, and *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen* (= *KB.*, Vol. VI), 1. Teil (Berlin, 1900), pp. 2-43; Heinrich Zimmern's excellent translation published as an appendix (pp. 401-20) to

The second tablet begins with a *verbatim* report of the situation described just now. The gods are greatly distressed, and not one dares to stand up against Tiāmat and fight her host. An-šar, Anu, and even Ea, the god of the unfathomable wisdom, shrink from meeting the terrible enemy. Thereupon Marduk,³⁸ the son of Ea,³⁹ volunteers to fight the monster, but on the condition that:

šum-ma-ma a-na-ku mu-tir	"When, forsooth, I have become
gi-mil-li-ku-un	your avenger,
a-kam-me Ti-āmat-ma u-bal-	Conquering Tiāmat and thus
laṭ ka-šu-un	saving your life,
šuk-na-a-ma pu-ux-ru šu-ti-	Then assemble the gods, them all,
ra i-ba-a šim-ti	and proclaim my control as supreme.
ina Ub(p)-šu-(uk)ken-na-ki	In Ubšukenna ⁴⁰ then enter ye
mit-xa-riš xa-diš tiš-ba-ma	all joyfully, and
ep-šu pi-ja ki-ma ka-tu-nu-	my word, instead of thine, shall
ma ši-ma-tu lu-šim-ma	assume control."

Ubšukenna (= Chamber of Fates) was the assembly room of the gods, where, according to later Babylonian belief, the gods determined on New Year's day (zāgmuk(k)u)⁴¹ the lot for king and nation. Many Assyriologists have connected with this Babylonian festival the Hebrew *Pūrīm*, especially Jensen, in Wildeboer's commentary on Esther (p. 173):⁴² "פֶּרֶךְ soll Los heissen. Im Assyrischen ist pūru (oder būru) jetzt wenigstens in der Bedeutung 'Stein' gesichert. Die Etymologie von

Hermann Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, 1896); H. Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 88-98. There are also French translations by MM. Jules Oppert and Joseph Halévy. In addition to these compare L. W. King, *First Steps in Assyrian* (London, 1896), pp. 122-60, and *Babylonian Religion and Mythology* (*ibid.*, 1899), pp. 58-120; C. J. Ball, *Light from the East, or the Witness of the Monuments* (London, 1899), pp. 1-21; Geo. A. Barton, "Tiāmat" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XV, pp. 3-27; and A. H. Sayce in the *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. I (1888), pp. 122-46. (See the present writer's article in *HEBRAICA*, Vol. IX, pp. 9-16.) We also refer to Morris Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* ("Handbooks on the History of Religions"), Boston, 1898, chap. xxi: "The Cosmogony of the Babylonians" (pp. 407-53, 724-7); to Ira Maurice Price, *The Monuments and the Old Testament*, 2d ed. (1900), chap. vii (pp. 80 *seq.*); and to the excellent articles of Alfred Jeremias on "Marduk" in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Vol. II, cols. 2340-72 (1895), and of Zimmermann-Cheyne on "Creation" in Cheyne and Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I (1899), cols. 938-54.

³⁸ On Marduk see Muse-Arnolt, *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, Part X, pp. 586, 587, where most of the recent literature is mentioned.

³⁹ See the excellent article "Oannes" by Alfred Jeremias in Roscher's *Lexikon*, Vol. III (1899), cols. 577-93; *Concise Dictionary*, p. 2; Halévy, *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, Vol. XVII, p. 189; Delitzsch, *Weltschöpfungsepos*, p. 94, rm. 2; Georg Hoffmann, *ZA.*, Vol. XI, pp. 272 *seq.* (§§ 17-20).

⁴⁰ *Concise Dictionary*, p. 11; Delitzsch, *loc. cit.*, p. 135, and *Handwörterbuch*, p. 119; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 219 *seq.*; Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 5, rm. *.

⁴¹ *Concise Dictionary*, p. 275.

⁴² *Die Fünf Megilloth* ("Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," Abteilung 17, 1896).

פֶּרֶץ und griechisch ψήφος lassen vermuten, dass darum פֶּרֶץ ein babylonisches Lehnwort ist. Auch das führt uns nach Babylonien." The Babylonian zagmuku (Berossus Σακμια) is the festival of Marduk, the god of the spring-tide sun. The account of the creation was probably written for the celebration of this day.⁴³

The gods acceded to the demand of Marduk and placed him on the royal throne. Surpassing his fathers in power, he took his place as decider and ruler. He went forth to meet Tiāmat and her host. A great battle followed, in which Marduk vanquished and slew his adversaries. Their opposition he trampled under his feet:

u ⁽¹¹⁾ Kin-gu ša ir-ta(b)-bu-u	Moreover, Kingu, who had been
[] ina [e-li]-šu-un	great above all of them,
ik-mi-šu-ma it-ti ¹¹ e-la-a	He defeated and did unto him as
[i]m-ni-šu	he had done to the other gods(?).
i-kim-šu-ma tup-šimāti la si-	Then tore he from him the <i>Tablets</i>
[m]a-ti-šu	of <i>Destiny</i> , that did not belong
	to him.
i-na k(q)i-šib-bi ik-nu-ka(n)m-	With his own seal he sealed them
ma ir-[t]u-[u]š it-mu-ux	and laid them on his own breast. ⁴⁴

Then follows the account of the creation of heaven and the deep; of the constellations, determining the seasons of the year; and of the moon, the determiner of weeks and months. The last tablet seems to be a hymn in praise of Marduk, who thus had become the supreme god in the Babylonian pantheon.

The possession of the *Tablets of Destiny* (t(d)upšimāti)⁴⁵ carried with it, according to Babylonian belief, the supremacy among the gods and absolute dominion over mankind. They must have been originally the property of Anu; for Kingu, when he received the *Tablets of Destiny*, obtained thereby the

⁴³ On *Pürim* see Lagarde, *Pürim* (Göttingen, 1887), 53 pp. (> furdigān, farwardigan; the Persian New Year); also *Mittheilungen*, Vol. II, pp. 378-81, and, again, Vol. IV, p. 147, rm. 1. Lagarde's derivation was partly supported by Oppert in *Rev. des études juives* (1894), and combated by Halévy (*ibid.*, 1887).—H. Zimmern, "Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Pürimfestes," *ZATW.*, Vol. XI, pp. 157-69, derives *pürim* from Assyrian puxru, through the Aramaic, in the meaning of "meal." He suggested also the identity of Mordecai with god Marduk. See also Jensen, *Wiener Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. VI, pp. 47 sqq.; 209 sqq.; *ZA.*, Vol. X, pp. 339 sq.; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 309 sqq.; Meissner, *ZDMG.*, Vol. L, pp. 296-301; H. Vuilleumier, *Rev. de théologie et de philosophie*, Vol. XXV, pp. 383-8, and C. H. W. Johns, *Expositor*, August, 1898, pp. 151-4; Grüneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels* (1900), pp. 188 sqq., especially against Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode* (1892), pp. 42 sqq.; Peiser, *KB.*, Vol. IV, p. 106, rm. 22; Winckler, *Alt-orientalische Forschungen*, Zweite Reihe, Band II, Heft 8 (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 334, 335, 350.

⁴⁴ Thus making them his own property.

⁴⁵ *Concise Dictionary*, p. 263; Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, pp. 225, 226, 227; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 340, 341; *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, Vol. II, p. 412; also *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 130, 131, ad Tel-Amarna, London, No. 82, ll. 35, 36.

power of Anu. We do not know how Tiāmat obtained them from Anu; but it may perhaps be inferred from the similar account in the legend of Zū, the god of storm and worker of evil. Zū, was anxious to obtain the supremacy among the gods.⁴⁶ He waited for an opportunity, and when, in an unguarded moment, Bēl-Marduk⁴⁷ was washing himself in clear, bright water, Zū snatched away the *Tablets of Destiny*, assumed the power of Bēl-Marduk,⁴⁸ and gave decisions and uttered decrees. The gods were dismayed at the theft, and Bēl-Marduk strode in rage through the hall where the gods assemble.

I give here, in translation, the part of the Zū-legend with which we are concerned :

Also the commands of all the gods he shaped.

He , he turned, he sent Zū.

As he (Zū ?) had completed [this ?], he approached Bēl, who was living at the shore of bright, pure waters.

His eyes beheld the insignia (?) of Bēl's supremacy, the royal cap of his sovereignty, and the robe of his godhead.

Zū gazed also at the *tablets of destiny*, belonging to the god.

And as he saw the father of the gods, the god of DUR-AN-KI, eager desire for the supremacy took possession of his heart.

As Zū saw the father of the gods, the god of DUR-AN-KI, eager desire for the supremacy took possession of his heart :

"I will take the *tablets of destiny* of the gods, even I;

and I will direct all the decrees (oracles) of the gods.

I will [establish] a throne, and dispense commands;

I will rule over all the spirits of heaven !"

And after his heart had planned the attack,

he awaited the dawn of morning at the entrance to the palace (of the gods) which he had seen.

Now, when Bēl had washed himself in the bright, pure waters, had ascended his throne, and placed upon his head the royal cap,

Zū seized with his hand the *tablets of destiny*;

he took Bēl's supremacy, the power of giving commands.

After Zū had fled away and [had turned ?] mountainward, grief was poured out, and cries resounded.

Their father, their decider, their , Bēl,

poured out his rage through the palace;

and the goddesses turned [to him ?] at his command (?).

Then Anu opened his mouth and said,

spoke unto the gods, his children :

"Who will vanquish Zū and thus

⁴⁶ So admirably edited by Professor E. T. Harper in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. II, pp. 408-18, 465-75. See, now, Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, pp. 47 sqq.

⁴⁷ It is well known that Marduk was often identified in later time with the older god Bēl. Being at the head of the Babylonian pantheon, he was called the *bēlu par excellence*, and then Bēl. It is possible, however, that we have to do here with the older god Bēl. If so, the legend is probably older than that of the Creation-account, in which Anu seems to be the rightful possessor of the *Tablets of Destiny*, by whom they are transferred to (Bēl)-Marduk.

⁴⁸ The text reads: (1) Bēl-u-ti il-te-qi (na-du-u par-qi), corresponding to the le-qu-u (2) A-nu-ti of the creation account.

make great his name among the nations of all the lands?"

They called their leader, the son of Anu.

And Anu spoke to him, and gave him the command.

Adad, the leader they called, the son of Anu;

and Anu spoke unto him, gave him this command:

"Thou mighty, terrible Adad; let not thy attack be repulsed!

Kill Zū with thy weapon!

Then thy name shall be great in the assembly of the great gods.

Thou shalt not have a rival among the gods thy brothers.

Shrines shall exist and be built [unto thee];

and in the four quarters [of the world] shall be established thy mansion.

Yea, even in Ēkur shall enter thy mansion!

Thou shalt be brilliant above the gods and mighty shall be thy name!"

But Adad answered to this command,

and spoke thus to his father Anu:

"My father, who can go to the mountain that is inaccessible?

Who among the gods, thy children, is like unto Zū?

He has seized with his hand the *tablets of destiny*,

has taken Bēl's supremacy, the power of giving commands.

Zū has fled away and [has turned?] mountainward.

The word of his mouth has [now the same power?] as [thus far] that of the gods of DUR-AN-KI.

He [that was mighty before?] is now considered as dirt.

But [to] his (Zū's) command bow even [the gods]."

Thereupon Anu told Adad not to go.

The same refusal Anu receives at the hands of Ištar and her son Bara.

We may infer from the reference to Zū's final end that some god (Šamaš?) undertook the task of regaining the *Tablets of Destiny*, with which Zū had fled to his mountain home, by catching him in his net.⁴⁹

The power which Marduk had as the possessor of the *Tablets of Destiny* must have descended from him to his son, the god Nebo (Nabū). The two gods are continually associated in Babylonian literature. It was the statue of Nabū, of Borsippa, and that of Marduk, of Babylon, the two gods residing in Ezida and Esagila, respectively, that were carried about in solemn procession at the New Year's festival (akītu), that is, on the day when the fate was decreed for king and the nation.⁵⁰ Nabū was the great and lofty messenger of the gods to mankind.⁵¹ He it is that holds together the world.⁵² He is the patron

⁴⁹ Told in the "Legend of Etana," *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, Vol. II, pp. 391-406, 439-63.

⁵⁰ Neb., i, 4; KB., III (1), pp. 184-5, col. ii, 1-2; (2) 2-3, 14; 4-5, 16; V R. 46 a-b 20; delu, 3n 95; III R. 57 a 57.

⁵¹ I R. 51, No. 1 b 16, Na-bi-um mār ki-i-nim su-uk-ka-al-lam qi-i-ri š' lu-tu na-ra-am ⁵² Marduk. Also see IV R. 14, No. 3 O 1-2 (⁵¹ Na-bi-um = AN. KB., III (1), p. 46, ll. 11-12; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 145; Jastrow, *Religion of Babylon Assyria*, p. 500.

⁵² The rikis kālāma. II R. 63, No. 2, 28; pāqid kiššat nagbi, etc. Society of c-d 27; Neb., i, 43; I R. 35, No. 2, 3; 51, No. 1 a 13.

of the scribes and the priests, and as such is called Nabū dup-šar gim-ri; also dup-šar E-sag-gil.⁵³ He is wisdom personified (AN-AG); the god who gives oracles (ba-nu-u pi-riš-ti) and who reveals the decision of the gods. These and many more titles of Nabū are mentioned on plates 43 and 46 in V Rawlinson. According to J. Halévy he is the prophet-god, the mediator between God and man.

In early inscriptions we find him called also ilu taš-me-tum = god of revelation,⁵⁴ a title later applied to a goddess (Nabū's consort Nanā?), mentioned always together with Nabū.⁵⁵

In an inscription published by Father Scheil in the *Recueil des Travaux*, Vol. XVI, p. 177, 3 (end), Nabū is called na-ši duppu ši-mat ilāni, and on tablet K. 140, 3, we read: ⁽¹¹⁾ Nabū nāš dup-ši-mat ilāni. Dupšimāti = *Tablets of Destiny* is usually written DUB-NAM-MEŠ, K. 3454 and K. 3935, ii, 7, 20; Creation-account, III, 47 and 105, etc. In addition to *Tablets of Destiny*, we find mentioned also tablets on which are inscribed the sins of mankind, e. g., K. 2333 R 9 sqq., duppi arnēšu xiṭātišu qillātišu māmātišu tumāmātišu ana mē linnadā: "may the tablet recording his misdeeds, sins, perversities, spells, and oaths be cast into the water (and thus blotted out forever)".⁵⁶ Lines 22–24 of the Stelen-inschrift S' read:

(11) Na-bi-um dup-šar E-sag-gil
ū-me balāṭi-šu arkūti ina dup-pi liš-ṭur
ši-mat la-ba-ri li-šim ši-mat-su

"May Nabū, the scribe of Ešagil, put down on his tablet his days for a long life and give him old age as his portion."⁵⁷ On

⁵³ Lehmann, *Šamašumukin*, Vol. II, pp. 10, 11, l. 22; 57. His ideogram AN-PA described him as the god of the writing stylus.

⁵⁴ Literally: god of hearing, II R. 59 a-b 53.

⁵⁵ See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 130 sqq., and, on the other hand, Tiele, *ZA.*, Vol. XIV, p. 187: "Nabū ist eine spätere Conception des alten Gottes von Borsippa, und dieser war ursprünglich kein anderer als Marduk, als ilu tašmēti: Gott der Offenbarung." Strassmaier, *AV.*, No. 8827; Haupt, *ASKT.*, 32, 747, KUR-NU-UN | LAL | ¹¹ taš-me-tum; II R. 43 a-b 39 (Brünnow, 10125, 10133); III R. 66 O c 27; 43, 39. *ZA.*, I, '98, 2, Taš-me-tum dam-qat (a proper name); also ^(11a) Taš-me-tum-mu-li-qat, *Utrassmaier, AV.*, No. 8828. The reading Taš-me-tum (as against -šip-) is assured by the variant in *Berlin Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. II, 1, 362, ad B 67, 25, šanat Taš-mi-Bēlm. Nabū and Tašmētum are mentioned mostly in colophons, e. g., S^a, col. vi, 29, and ⁽¹¹⁾ AK (u) ^(11a) Taš-me-tum, etc.; II R. 21, 32; 23, 41; 27, 24; 38, 64; IV², 14, No. 3, R 4; and ⁽¹¹⁾ Iphophon, 2. Ideogram also K. 3464, 40; Rm. 122, 53; Rm. 274, 10; K. 3412, 25, ^(11a) taš-to be th^m kal-lat Ešagila. According to J. Halévy, *Rev. de l'histoire des religions* Marduk 20, tašmētu = "chose entendue, tradition, oracle."

⁵⁶ The Zimmern, *Šurpu*, ii, 188 sqq.
⁵⁷ *le-qu-u* ¹¹ *Leumann, Šamašumukin*, Vol. II, pp. 10, 11, 57.

the other hand, in Strassmaier, *Leyden*, No. 160, l. 9, we read: Nabū (^{amēl}) dup-šar Ē-sag-gil ū-mu-šu ar-ku-tu li-kar-ri, "may Nabū shorten (literally: blot out) his future days."

It has been shown by Tallqvist in his edition of the series *Maqlū*⁵⁸ (I, pp. 24 *sqq.*) and by Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 87, that the functions of the Babylonian priests as interpreters, prophets, and enchanters are derived ultimately from Ēa and his son Marduk, and we may assume here, on the basis of many passages, also from Nabū, the son of Marduk and prophet of the great gods. The functions of the Babylonian priest were: (1) the same as those of the Roman *haruspex*, the examiner of omens, hence bārū from barū "see, examine;" (2) to deliver oracles (tērēti; *sgl.* tērtu); hence he is called also mudū tērti,⁵⁹ "one knowing oracles" (K. 7331); and (3) to prophesy, foretell.

The seer (bārū) consulted the god, whose answer was either Yes or No. Quite often the god sends to his people an ūrtu,⁶⁰ a command to do, or not to do, something. Ūrtu belongs to the same stem from which is derived tērtu, the *terminus technicus* for oracle.⁶¹ The gods speak (tamū, utammū) to the priest (bārū) the oracle, which they reveal to him; and the oracle is called the tamīt pirišti "the mysterious word, revelation."

IV.

I cannot help believing that God "at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past," not only unto the fathers by the prophets, but to all mankind, in ways which it is now almost impossible to trace precisely. With this conviction as a starting-point I long ago came to the conclusion⁶² that the mythological account of the *Tablets of Destiny*, as found in the Babylonian account of the creation and the legend of Zū, and the Old Testament Ūrīm and Tummīm, both shaping the destiny of king and nation, revert to the same fountain-head and origin.

⁵⁸ *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlū*. Nach den Originalen im Britischen Museum herausgegeben von Knut L. Tallqvist. (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, Tom. XX, No. 6.)

⁵⁹ ME-A-ZU = mu-di-e ter-te, Bowler 252, R 11; Brännow 10380.

⁶⁰ umā'ir ūrtu kabittu, etc.

⁶¹ On the relation of tērtu to תִּרְתִּי see below, p. 222.

⁶² This paper was first announced for the December, 1891, meeting of the Society of Biblical Exegesis in Philadelphia, Pa.; but was not read at that time.

I may be wrong; if so, let us begin over again; and may some other student be more successful. Let me, at once, ask the question:

Is it really beyond doubt that the earliest religious conceptions of a nation belonging to the same family as the Hebrews, and living at no time far from that people—perhaps at one time even together with it, if Gen. 11:29 and 31 tell the true story—must necessarily have originated from below; if I may be allowed to say so, must be mere human invention, while the other nation⁶³ received its fundamental religious instruction from above, by means of special divine revelation? Is it not more probable that, from a common basis, there developed, in the course of time, among the Assyrio-Babylonians the belief in the *Tablets of Destiny*, and among the early Hebrews the belief in that powerful oracle “the *Ūrīm* and the *Tummīm*”? Notwithstanding the fragmentary account of Babylonian literature and the scanty report of Old Testament writers, we can yet gather some points common to both:

1. According to Exod. 28:30; Lev. 8:8, etc., the *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm* were resting within the breastplate, *i. e.*, on the breast of the high priest; in the Babylonian account we find the *Tablets of Destiny* resting on the breast of their possessor.⁶⁴ Only as long as they were resting on the breast of the god in the one nation, and on that of the high priest in the other nation, were they efficacious.

2. In the Babylonian account only gods were the lawful possessors of the *Tablets of Destiny*; but here only those gods who, in some way, were considered the messengers and mediators between the other gods and mankind (*Marduk* and *Nabū*). Originally they were undoubtedly the property of the god *Anu* and came into the hands of *Tiāmat* and *Kingu*, in a way we know not. When *Nabū* became the chief mediator between the gods and mankind, he possessed the *dupšimāti*. In Israel the *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm* were intrusted by *Yahweh* to *Moses* and through him to the high priest as the representative of *Yahweh* and the mediator between God and nation, to whose decision, by means of the *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm*, even kings bowed in obedience.

3. There is, to be sure, in the Assyrio-Babylonian records, as far as we possess them now, no statement as to the exact number

⁶³ Tribe or clan, whatever it may have been in the beginning.

⁶⁴ See also the book of *Jubilees*, chap. 8; Gesenius¹³, p. 21.

of *Tablets of Destiny*. We know that there was more than one;⁶⁵ it may not be too hazardous to assume that there were only two, one lying on each breast, the one revealing (or prognosticating?) good fortune, the other misfortune. To the possessor of such tablets the Assyrio-Babylonian belief could not but ascribe supreme authority and dominion over all mankind. The Old Testament account of the Ūrim and Tummīm indicates that there were only two objects (lots?).⁶⁶ Have the other two "Tablets of Destiny," the two tables of testimony, the tables of stone, written with the finger of God, which Moses brought from Sinai, after all, some connection, direct or indirect, with the Babylonian *Tablets of Destiny*, or with the Ūrim and the Tummīm?

4. We are told that Marduk, after he had torn the *Tablets of Destiny* from the breast of his dead foe, Kingu, sealed them with his own seal. There may be a reminiscence of this in Exod. 28:21, where it is said of the twelve stones upon the breastplate: "And the stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names, engraved in the manner of a seal for each of the twelve tribes." The use of twelve stones, one for each of the twelve tribes, in addition to the two lots (of stone) is perhaps of some significance in this connection.

5. Marduk, bearing on his breast the *Tablets of Destiny*, presided at the annual assembly of the gods where the fate was determined and the lot was cast for king and nation. It is the general opinion that the Ūrim and Tummīm were consulted only in cases where the safety of king or nation was concerned.

These features, common to both—to which some other points, of minor importance, might be added—have led us to assume that the Babylonian *Tablets of Destiny* and the Ūrim and Tummīm were originally one and the same, a means by which, according to the belief of the early ancestors of both nations, the divine powers (or power) communicated their will and their decisions to king and nation.

⁶⁵ We infer this from DUB-NAM-MEŠ (= dupšimāti), written thus in the creation account.

⁶⁶ Ezra 2:63 (= Neh. 7:65) forbids us to assume post-exilic, or even exilic, origin of the belief in the Ūrim and the Tummīm on the part of the Israelites. Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums*, p. 141, speaks to the point when he says: "Da die Ūrim und Tummim als vorhanden auch weiterhin nicht erwähnt werden, und Josephus über dieselben offenbar nicht mehr genau unterrichtet ist, so fehlten sie vermuthlich dem nach-exilischen Hohenpriester auf die Dauer. Dann ist es aber doch wohl unwahrscheinlich, dass erst ein exilisches oder nachexilisches Gesetz den Hohenpriester mit den Ūrim und Tummim ausstattete, ohne doch einen Repräsentanten dafür zu haben oder ohne über die Ūrim und Tummim zu verfügen."

Of great interest, in this connection, are Cheyne's remarks on the "Contents of the Ark" (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, col. 307): "As to its contents, the inscribed 'tables of stone,' which we should never have expected to find in the Holy of Holies, were but a substitute of the imagination for some mystic symbol or representation of Yahweh. Of what did that symbol consist? We are, of course, bound to do what we can to minimize the fiction or error of the Deuteronomist; but we must not deviate from the paths of historical analogy. These duties are reconciled by the supposition that the ark contained two sacred stones (or one) [cf. Vatke, *Die Religion des A. T.*, p. 321; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp. 457 sq.; Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 370. There were, and still are, two sacred stones, a black and a white, built into the wall of the Ka'ba at Mecca; see William Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 297 sq.]. This view, no doubt, implies a survival of fetishism; but there are traces enough of fetishism elsewhere in Hebrew antiquity to justify it. The stones (or stone) must have been ancient in the extreme. They (or it) originally had no association with Yahweh; they represented the stage when mysterious personality and power were attached to lifeless matter. Being portable, however, they were different from the sacred stones of Bethel, Beth-shemesh, Shechem, and En-rogel, and are most naturally viewed as specimens of those bœtyls, animated stones, which, according to Sanchoniathon, were formed by the heaven-god, and were presumably meteorites."

Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, pp. 368 sq., says: "Die Frage, was die Lade [*i. e.*, the ark] ursprünglich bedeutete, wird von der Tradition im Anschluss an die übereinstimmenden Berichte des Pentateuch dahin beantwortet, dass in der Lade die Gesetzestafeln liegen, die Mose am Sinai von Jahwe bekommen habe. . . . Die Theorie von den Gesetzestafeln ist leicht als eine spätere Umdeutung erkenntlich. . . . Nicht die Lade verdankt den Gesetzestafeln ihre Existenz, sondern umgekehrt; mit andern Worten: Die Lade genoss schon lange vorher eine Verehrung, ehe man darauf kam, in ihr Gesetzestafeln zu suchen. Nirgends in den angeführten Erzählungen der BB. Sam. ist darauf angespielt, dass die Lade Tafeln enthalte. . . . Diese Auffassung der Lade muss also noch jünger sein als die betreffenden Berichte in den BB. Sam. Die Tradition von den Gesetzestafeln kann sich

allerdings nicht aus nichts gebildet haben; wir werden vielmehr daraus schliessen müssen, dass die Lade schon in der ältesten Zeit Steine oder *einen* Stein enthielt," etc.

Granting, in the main, the correctness of these views, it seems to me that here also a connection can be shown to have existed between the Ūrim and Tummim, the *Tablets of Destiny*, the (two) tables of stone (Exod. 24:12), and the two tables on which, according to the belief of the Old Testament, the Decalogue was engraven. The Old Testament records, later than the books of Samuel, place these two tables in the ark of the covenant, calling them "the tables of the Law;" in other words, this belief gained ground at about the time when the consultation of Yahweh by means of the Ūrim and the Tummim appears to have ceased.

We read Exod. 24:12: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and remain there, and I will give thee *together with the tables of stone both the Law and the Commandment* (אֶת־לִבְיָהּ הָאֶבֶן וְהַצִּוִּיּוֹת וְהַמִּצְוֹת), which I have written for their [the people's] instruction." Without arguing about the early or late character of the Hebrew forms and expressions used here, it seems to me that the idea expressed represents the earliest stage of the accounts of the giving of the Law; an older tradition than the other references in the Old Testament (i. e., Exod. 31:18, "And he gave unto Moses, when he made an end of speaking with him on Mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God;" also see 32:15, 16; 34:1, 4, 28, 29; Deut. 4:13; 5:22; 9:10, 11, all of which represent a later development of the Hebrew belief concerning *the tables of stone*). In Exod. 24:12 "the tables of stone" appear distinct from "the Law" and "the Commandment." Thus also the LXX: Καὶ δώσω σοι τὰ πυξία τὰ λίθινα, τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἃς ἔγραψα. [Professor Moore writes: "Is the text of 24:12 sound? The contrary is the prevailing opinion." But my interpretation differs from the prevailing view concerning this verse.]

It seems to me that "the tables of stone," given at the same time with "the Law" and "the Commandment," have no connection at all with the giving of the Decalogue,⁶⁷ but are a reminiscence of a primitive Semitic belief in divine *Tablets of Destiny*.

⁶⁷ On the other hand see Friedrich Giesebrecht, *Die Geschichtlichkeit des SinaiBundes untersucht* (Königsberg, 1900), although the author admits (p. 4) that the account in Exod., chap. 34, compared with that in Exod., chap. (s. 21-) 24, is "einfacher, menschlicher, weniger miraculhaft." See also *ibid.*, pp. 50-61, where Giesebrecht argues for the early date of these chapters.

Now, the Ūrīm and Tummīm are mentioned as something known to Moses and the people, and are believed to have been of stone. Is it too bold to assume that "the tables of stone" in Exod. 24:12 are the same as the Ūrīm and Tummīm, at least according to the belief of the early Hebrews? It is noteworthy that, after David, there is, in the Old Testament, no further mention of the consultation of Yahweh by means of the Ūrīm and Tummīm, and that, after Solomon had placed the ark in the Holy of Holies, we hear no more concerning the Ūrīm and Tummīm. We agree with Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige* ("Kurzer Hand-Commentar," Abt. IX, 1899), p. 58: "Dass die Lade noch zu Davids und Salomos Zeit eine andere Bedeutung hatte, ersieht man klar aus I Sam. 5, 6, II Sam. 6: sie war das numen praesens, nicht Behälter von Gesetzestafeln; ebenso auch bei JE, Num. 10:35, 36." ["It is noteworthy that they are not mentioned in Deuteronomy"—George F. Moore.] With the rise of Hebrew prophecy, the consultation of God by means of the Ūrīm and Tummīm fell into desuetude. But their importance and sacredness must have remained the same for many ages. They were, according to our conception of the belief of the writers of the Old Testament records, placed in the "ark of Yahweh;" and this became the *numen praesens*. In course of time the belief in the two tables of the Law, containing the ten commandments, gained more and more in importance, and they, in turn, became to later generations what the Ūrīm and Tummīm had been to earlier generations. But what had become of these two tables of the Law, written with the finger of God? Had anyone seen them? No! Yet where else could they be if not in the "ark of Yahweh" (2 Sam. 5:6 *sqq.*), which a later generation now called the "ark of the covenant"? There they were deposited—as Deut. 10:5 tells us—with a view to their safe-keeping and in token of their paramount importance. And so it came to pass that "the two tables of the Law" took the place of the Ūrīm and Tummīm in the ark of Yahweh, where they probably had been placed by Solomon. And thus 1 Kings 8:9 now consistently says: "There was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb, when the Lord made a covenant with the children of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt."

If this view of the relation between the Ūrīm and Tummīm and the two tables of the Law, the ten commandments, is correct,

we have, in the Old Testament, a blending of an earlier and a later belief; the one, as Cheyne correctly says, a survival of fetishism, the other an advance toward that ethical monotheism of Amos and his successors (see also article "Decalogue" in Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, cols. 1049-1051). Both traditions assume Moses as the mediator between Yahweh and the nation. The Ūrim and Tummīm, and the consultation of Yahweh by means of them, was more in consonance with the early beliefs and religious customs of the neighboring Semitic nations. As Israel advanced toward a more ethical monotheism, Yahweh grew more distant and communicated with his people by the more ethical medium of the decalogue, which again becomes subordinate, in importance, when Old Testament prophecy and prophets rule and sway the religious belief of the nation. Whether the ark, even in its oldest conception and form, antedates the Ūrim and Tummīm, as we have interpreted them, cannot be determined. It seems to us that they are cotemporaneous, and that they must have had some connection, in the religious worship of the early nation, from their first existence.

Other fundamental religious conceptions, common to both nations, also developed in different directions in conformity with the general trend of each nation's religious convictions. I recall to the reader's mind the account of the creation, of the flood and its consequences, and of the institution of sabbath.⁶⁸ Neither nation borrowed these accounts from the other; both had them from time immemorial; but they developed them differently under different conditions.⁶⁹ When Babylonian mythology developed, the original conception of the *Tablets of Destiny* must have undergone changes, as we can infer from the account of the creation, which expresses the conceptions held by the Babylonians either at the time of the original composition of the account or at that of its last redactor. The fact that we have several accounts of the creation, going back, undoubtedly, to one and the same original conception, is evidence that Babylonian religious literature had its redactors and editors, as well as Old Testament literature.

⁶⁸ Where I find myself greatly in accord with Professor Jastrow's results, printed in the *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. II, pp. 350-52. See also Professor Toy in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVIII (1899), pp. 190-95.

⁶⁹ Only a few weeks ago Alfred Jeremias published a small pamphlet on *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern* (= "Der Alte Orient," I, Heft 3), in which he points out some striking resemblances among the Babylonians to the religious conceptions of the Old Testament writers.

It is probably only the latest development of Babylonian religious belief that we find expressed in the account of the creation, just as we assume the same in the case of the *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm* of the Old Testament. In Israel, the development of a strict monotheism necessarily modified the conception of the *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm* also. To be sure, we find no description of the *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm* in the Old Testament; they are mentioned as something familiar and known to Moses and the people, an inheritance received from the time of their ancestors. The very fact that the Old Testament assumes that Moses and the people were familiar with and cognizant of the nature of the *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm* confirms, to some degree, my views concerning their early existence and original nature and significance. They were naturally connected with the functions of the high priest as the mediator between Yahweh and his people.

The etymology of the *אֲרִיִּם* and *תַּמִּיִּם*, suggested by Zimmern and others, is another proof of the correctness of the explanation given here.

It is a well-known fact that the so-called plural ending (*ִים*) of the two words expresses the *pluralis intensivus*; they are plurals only in form, but not in meaning.

I connect *אֲרִיִּם*, not with *אָרַר* "curse, put under the ban," as Schwally and others have done, but with the Assyrian *u'uru*, the infinitive *Piël* of *a'aru*, from which are derived also the nouns *ūrtu* "command, order, decision" (usually of the gods) and *tērtu* (originally of the same meaning).⁷⁰ Both occur frequently in Assyrio-Babylonian literature in sentences analogous in form to those in which we find *Ūrīm* and *Tummīm* used in the Old Testament. The plural *אֲרִיִּם* "fires" (*cf.* Isa. 24:15) has no doubt had some influence in shaping the analogous form *אֲרִיִּם* = *ūrtu*. *תַּמִּיִּם* I connect with the Assyrian *tamū*, *Piël* *tummū*, verbal forms also belonging to the oracular language.

⁷⁰ So especially Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 91, rm. 2, and others. Ball, *Light from the East*, in the "List of Proper Names," translates *U.* and *T.* by "biddings and forbiddings(?)".

Professor Moore writes: "As the original nature and meaning of 'tablets'—if your hypothesis is right—do not exclude the use of these objects (as lots, apparently) to decide an alternative, so the foreign etymology of the names need not shut out a Hebrew popular etymology in which *אָרַר*—the unfavorable alternative—was connected with *אָרַר* and the other with *תַּמִּיִּם*. My opinion has been that they may first have been employed in cases of obscure crime, as a kind of ordeal by lot."

Professor H. P. Smith says: "With regard to your main thesis I should make a distinction between the documents. I think it altogether likely that the Priestcode with its elaborate breastplate was influenced by Babylonian conceptions and among others by the *Tablets of Destiny*. So far you have a strong case.—In the older documents I am not so certain of Babylonian influence—at least of direct Babylonian influence. The sacred lot so readily suggests itself as a means of determining the divine will that it might be a Canaanitish, Phœnician or Aramaic institution, or a direct product of the Hebrew religion."

If these derivations are correct, אִרְיִים and תַּמִּיִּם would correspond to the Babylonian ūrtu ("command, decision," mostly of the gods) and tamītu, a synonym of pirištu = oracle, oracular decision (of the gods).

That the original meaning of the two words and their significance were known even at the time when the Old Testament records, in which they are mentioned, were written, I almost doubt; that they were not known either to the Greek translators or to the early Massoretes I am firmly convinced.

V.

To strengthen the argument concerning the relation between the Babylonian *Tablets of Destiny* and Babylonian oracular divination, on the one hand, and the Old Testament Ūrim and Tummim, on the other hand, I call attention to a number of technical terms used in the ritual of Hebrew and Babylonian religion and cult, which are either common to both or borrowed, on the part of the Hebrew, from the Babylonian. This has been pointed out by many Assyriologists and students of the Old Testament.

Thus the word כִּפֹּר in its technical meaning to "atone" is identical with the Assyrian kuppuru. The Syriac כִּפֹּר, with the same meaning, is borrowed either from the Babylonian or the Hebrew; and the Arabic كَفَّرَ again, in the same restricted meaning, from the Aramaic. See, especially, Lagarde, *Übersicht*, pp. 230 sqq.⁷¹

In Exod. 12:7 (where the institution of the passover is related) we read: "And they shall take of the blood, and strike it on the two side posts and on the lintel of the houses wherein they shall eat it." Compare with this the following sentence from a ritual-tablet for the āšipu (enchanter, sorcerer), col. iii, 19-21:

The enchanter shall go out of the kamū-gate, shall offer a lamb in the gate of the palace, and then cover with the blood of this lamb, the lintel(?)
 and the posts to the right and to the left of the gate of the palace.⁷²

⁷¹ Geenius¹³, and literature given there; also Brown-Genenius, p. 497; Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, cols. 333-9; Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 92.

⁷² Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger; erste Hälfte* (= *Zweite Lieferung of Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, "Assyriologische Bibliothek," XII, 2), Leipzig, 1899, p. 126. The text reads as follows:

(amē) mašmašu ina bābi kamē ugā-ma šu' [á]
 ina bāb ekalli inakki(-ki) ina dāmi urisi(-si) šu-a-tum
 I-[LU] = askuppāti; so completed by Zimmern]
 LU-MAŠ u sib-bi-e imni u šumēli ša bāb ekal[li]

On LU-MAŠ. Zimmern has the note: "Vielleicht zu lesen māši 'Zwillinge;' vergl. dasu IV R. 21 b 30 sqq., wo es sich um kriegerische Zwillingsgestalten handelt, die inmitten,

The word פסח "passover" also belongs here. The latest concerning this word, on this side of the ocean, has been written by Professor Toy in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1897, pp. 178, 179. We read on p. 179: "If it is thus made probable that the verb (פסח) expresses a ritual motion, the noun will naturally mean 'dance.'⁷⁵ This sense is mentioned as conceivable in Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, but is not approved. There seems, however, nothing improbable in the supposition that the old nomadic Hebrew Spring Festival should be called 'the dance,' this dance being the principal ritual ceremony of the year; the lamb offered would then be 'the lamb or sacrifice of the pesah,' and finally the term פסח would come to designate the feast or the lamb. Such a festival would naturally be connected with the offering of first-born animals (cf. Exod. 34:19); but the lamb sacrificed at a joyous nomadic feast would probably not be looked on as a substitute for men, and would not be called 'a lamb of exemption.' " Valuable as these remarks are, I cannot help siding with Zimmern,⁷⁶ who explains the word as probably borrowed from the Assyrio-Babylonian pašaxu, puššuxu, which is the *terminus technicus* for the "conciliation of the incensed deity." This etymology, again, appears to me far preferable to that of Fr. Hommel, who derives from the Egyptian "the much-debated Pesakh (Passah)."⁷⁷

We have in Hebrew the verb שָׁפַח (also found in Aramean, etc.) in the meaning of to "whisper, charm." According to W. Robertson Smith, *Journal of Philology*, Vol. XIV (1885), p. 122, it meant originally something like serpent-charming.

beziehungsweise, links und rechts vom Thore als Schutzgeister aufgestellt werden. Beachte auch die Zwillingsterne LU ma-ši, über welche Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 47, 144 sqq., handelt."

Zimmern's *Ritualtafeln* are of the greatest importance for the study of comparative Semitic religion, and deserve careful attention and the closest study on the part of all students of Semitic languages and literatures. Especially noteworthy is his "Introduction" (pp. 81-95), to which we shall refer time and again.

⁷⁵ This observation, if I mistake not, was made several years before by Schwally: פסח from *pasāx*, II = "dance," not from *pasāx*, I = "pass by." See also Grüneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus*, p. 191: "Das Passahopfer ist unverkennbar ein Frühlingsfest der Hirten, bei dem die Erstlinge dargebracht wurden, aber kein Totenfest."

⁷⁶ Gesenius¹⁸, p. 671; *Ritualtafeln*, p. 92, rm. 9.

⁷⁷ *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (1897), pp. 291, 292: "In the case of no other religious festival do we find so much stress laid upon its memorial character as in this (cf. Exod. 12:14), and there must be something more than mere coincidence in the fact that the Egyptian word *sachā* (radically related to the Babylonian *sakharu* = 'to seek, to reflect upon,' and the common Semitic element *sakharu* [see, however, Zimmern, *Theologische Rundschau*, Vol. I, p. 323]) means 'to call to mind.' This shows that the initial *pe* must be a form of the article which was in general use in the time of the later empire, and that, therefore, the word was originally *pe-sakh*."

The same word occurs in Assyrian, where *luxxušu* is used of the whispering of charms and spells, mostly into the ear of the sacrificial animal. Zimmern suggests that the Hebrew in this restricted meaning was borrowed from the Assyrio-Babylonian.⁷⁶ I would suggest that לַחַשׁ and *laxašu* are of common descent from an early time, when the members of the North Semitic family of languages were more closely united than they were at a later period.

Common to Hebrew and Assyrio-Babylonian is the word לַחַשׁ, "an (idol-) priest" = *amēlka-mi-rum* of the Tel-Amarna letters: "wise man, sage," etc.; it occurs also in cognate languages, for which see Baudissin, *Geschichte*, pp. 223, 239, 241, 270; Brown-Gesenius, p. 485; *Concise Dictionary*, p. 398, col. 2, where passages and further literature are given.—There is also the Hebrew לַחַשׁ and Arabic كَاهِن "a seer;" "both must have been originally identical (both alike being guardians of an oracle at a sanctuary); only in later times their function diverged. The كَاهِن gradually lost his connection with the sanctuary, and sank to be a mere diviner; the לַחַשׁ rose and acquired fuller sacrificial functions."⁷⁷

⁷⁶ In his excellent review of Bruno Meissner, *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern in the Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1898, p. 819: "לַחַשׁ II 1, 1 u h h u s u technischer Ausdruck vom Murmeln der Zauberformeln, wie hebr. לַחַשׁ (in dieser speciellen Bedeutung vielleicht erst aus dem Assyrischen entlehnt?)." A slight knowledge of Assyrian would have helped T. Wotton Davies, *Magic*, etc., considerably in the treatment of the verb לַחַשׁ. I quote here a sentence or two from pp. 50, 51: "The verb לַחַשׁ [*sic*] (*lakhash*), found in Aramaic and in Rabbinical Hebrew with the sense of 'to hiss, as a serpent,' is in my opinion a denominative from לַחַשׁ (*lakhash*), which is merely a dialectical variety of נַחַשׁ [*sic*] (*nakhash*), a serpent. ל and נ are both liquids, and both tend to fall out, as the nun in נָחַץ verbs, and the ל in לָקַח. . . . The form with ל is kept in the O. T. mainly for the department of magic; נַחַשׁ is used almost wholly in connection with divination. Not at all unlikely, the change came about through a desire, more instinctive than conscious, to use different words for different things." A beginner in Hebrew knows that serpent is נַחַשׁ; not נַחַשׁ, which is a) charm, spell, b) omen. The great discovery printed on pp. 50-52 of Davies' book was made long ago by Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 188, rm.: "לַחַשׁ wohl aus נַחַשׁ entstanden. Sonst vergleiche des Grafen W. W. Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 288." See also Gesenius¹³. The Assyrio-Babylonian, of course, shows that for once Lagarde was wrong. Davies throughout his book spells Baudissin, Sigfried (instead of Siegfried), etc. The whole "Literature," pp. xi-xvi, should have been revised by one of the Leipzig men under whom he took his degree of doctor of philosophy. Davies (in 1897-8) is utterly unaware of such books as Baudissin's *Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums* (1899); Baethgen's *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionswissenschaft* (1888); P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (even the second edition appeared before this dissertation was printed); Preiss, *Religionsgeschichte* (1888); Reich, *Die Entwicklung der Religiosität und das Werk der Religion*, etc. (1896), and other important books, to say nothing of the many articles and valuable reviews in periodicals and serials, that should have been constantly referred to in a dissertation on such an important and extremely difficult subject.

⁷⁷ Brown-Gesenius, pp. 482 sq. (where some literature is given); also Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 471; W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2d ed. (1895), p. 292, and *The Religion of the Semites* (1889), *passim*. On the use of the word כהן in the

Hommel in his book, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 17, footnote 1, says: "There are, no doubt, a number of direct loan-words [from Babylonian] among these [words in the ritual language of the Old Testament], e. g., Hebr. *kohen*, 'priest,' Babyl. *mushktnu* (from *mushkahnu*)," 'votive,' 'offering homage to the Deity;' or *terumah*, 'heave-offering,' Babyl. *tarimtu*, 'offering-cup;' or Hebr. *torah*, 'law, commandment,' Babyl. *urtu* and *tärtu*." Zimmern, *Theolog. Rundschau*, Vol. I, p. 323 (May, 1898), however, wrote: "Sprachlich sehr anfechtbar sind die Behauptungen [Hommel's], S. 17, dass hebr. *kohen*, *terumah*, *torah* alte babylonische Lehnwörter seien." In his *Ritualtafeln*, p. 91, however, Zimmern states that תִּרְתָּ is probably "eine alte Entlehnung aus babylonisch-assyrischem *tärtu*." Professor Haupt, to my knowledge, has been of this opinion for at least fifteen years. Tärtu in Assyrio-Babylonian is the technical term for the "divine omen," whence the oracle proceeds. Its original meaning was "mission, order, command," which, then, narrowed down to the more specific signification of "divine revelation, omen."⁷⁹

Who knows whether, in the future, it may not be possible, in the light of more extended research, to show a connection between the לֵוִי, the Levite, of the Old Testament and the Assyrio-Babylonian li'ū, le'ū, "wise, prudent" (used as noun and as adjective)?⁸⁰ Hommel, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (New York, 1897), p. 276, identifies the word with the *lavi'u* (fem. *lavi'at*) occurring in the Minæan inscriptions found in Mutrân (also cf. *ibid.*, pp. 282 sqq., and *Neue kirchl. Zeitschr.*, Vol. I (1890), p. 68, rm.).

Old Testament see Lewis B. Paton in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1898, pp. 1-14; and compare Baudissin, *Geschichte*, pp. 191 sq., 269 sq.; "Der Amtsnamen כֹּהֵן, auch in den phöniciischen Inschriften vorkommend (daneben das Femininum כֹּהֲנִית), scheint den Westsemiten von Haus aus gemeinsam zu sein, wenn nicht etwa die Hebräer ihn von den Kanaanitern herübernahmen" (p. 270).

⁷⁹ Also Hommel in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 217. On *muškēnu* (𐎢𐎴𐎧𐎺) see Jensen, *ZA.*, Vol. IV, p. 271; Zimmern, *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 353 (𐎢𐎴𐎧𐎺); Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 186, rm. 3. It appears as a synonym of *xubbulu*, "pauper, wretch;" K. 3312, col. iii, 21; Tel-Amarna (London) 1, 37 we read *mārat ištēn mu-uš-ki-nu* = "daughter of a miserable (poor) fellow." The abstract noun also occurs. Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1566, quotes *muš-ki-nu-tu illak*, he will become a beggar. (Meissner, *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern*, p. 44, col. i.)

⁸⁰ On the etymology of *tärtu* see Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 88, rm. 7.

⁸¹ I wish to state here that I am quite aware of the literature on this most perplexing subject. Everything of importance prior to 1888 is carefully registered by Baudissin in his monumental work, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums* (1889), according to whom, p. 265, לֵוִי means: "Anschluss, Anhang, Gefolgschaft." Gesenius¹² and Brown-Gesenius, *sub verbo*, together with the excellent *Theologische Jahresbericht*, give all the literature since 1888.

The חֲרֻטִּים of the Old Testament, Hommel, *The Expository Times*, February, 1900, p. 234, believes to be a loan-word borrowed from the Babylonian (^{amēl}) qardamu, a class of priests.⁸¹

Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, pp. 90, 91, states that בְּרִית, which in Hebrew has no satisfactory etymology,⁸² is, in all probability, a very old loan-word from the Babylonian in its original meaning of "oracle" (*Orakelspruch*). From this original meaning there were developed, on Hebrew soil, all the other significations of בְּרִית, registered in the modern dictionaries. If Zimmern is correct, the derivation of בְּרִית from בִּירָה "bind" (Gesenius-Brown, etc.), or בִּירָה "cut, hew," is to be given up, and the Hebrew must be connected with the Assyrio-Babylonian bārūtu, the abstract noun of bārū.⁸³ "Mit dem Namen wird dann aber auch wohl die Sache des althebräischen Orakelwesens in ihren letzten Wurzeln auf Babylonien zurückgehen" (Zimmern).⁸⁴ Giesebrecht's excellent remarks on בְּרִית in his treatise, *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes*, have not convinced me that Zimmern's view is wrong. Siegfried-Stade, *Wörterbuch*, be it said here, years ago (1893) gave "Orakelertheilung" as the meaning of בְּרִית.

Old Testament exegetes should notice especially Zimmern's remark (*loc. cit.*, p. 85, rm. 8): "Sollte am Ende in חֲבֵרִי שָׁמִים bzw. חֲבֵרִי Jes. 47, 13, dessen Emendierung in חֲבֵרִי doch nicht recht befriedigt, irgendwie der babylonische Berufsname bārū stecken?" The whole chapter is a "Song of Derision upon Babylon." Vss. 12, 13 read: "Pray, persist in thy spells⁸⁵ and in thy many enchantments [about which thou didst trouble thyself from thy youth], perchance thou canst help somewhat, perchance thou wilt strike terror. Self-wearied art thou with counsels, pray, let them stand forth; yea, let them deliver thee [I mean], the

⁸¹ Hommel refers to IV R. (2d ed.), pl. 12, R. 6, where he reads u-šab-ba-ru qar [instead of am]-da-mi. The ideogram GIL-GIL (Brünnow, 1397, *sic*!) is found in K. 2061, i, 16, as equivalent of qar-da-mu (see Strassmaier, *AV*, No. 7349). Other etymologies are mentioned in Gesenius¹³ and Brown-Gesenius, s. v. חֲרֻטִּים. The lucubrations of T. W. Davies, pp. 41-3 of his dissertation, can hardly be taken seriously.

⁸² בְּרִית, 1 Sam. 17:8, probably a mistake for בְּחִירָה (Zimmern; after Weir and Driver); also cf. 1 Kings 18:25.

⁸³ From the verb bārū, "see, look, examine, inspect;" thus (^{amēl}) bārū, properly "the examiner of omens," and būru, "the examining of omens" (*Omen-Beschau*).

⁸⁴ It will suffice, in this connection, to call to mind the views adopted by almost all students of the Old Testament concerning the ark (Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, cols. 396-99), the Cherubim and Seraphim, and other words of the ritual language, adopted by the Hebrews from other nations.

⁸⁵ בַּחֲרִיק; cf. Assy. ubburu, "to charm, cast a spell over someone (or something)."

seers of heaven, the gazers on stars, who define every new moon; whence (troubles) are coming upon thee." It is evident that the *Qērē* הַבְּרִי שָׁמַיִם is a Massoretic makeshift to explain the *Kēthib*, which originally must have been an expression parallel to הַיָּדִים בְּכֹכְבִּים (LXX: *οἱ ὁρῶντες τοὺς ἀστέρας*). On the basis of the Greek, *οἱ ἀστρολόγοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, we would reconstruct as the original reading of the Hebrew: הַבְּרִי בְּשָׁמַיִם. "Some scribe," reading הַבְּרִי בְּשָׁמַיִם, wrote by mistake וַ instead of ב. Later copyists who knew not what to do with the וַ added it to the preceding הַבְּרִי, and when the Massorettes began their work, they faithfully preserved the וַ; but as they could not explain it, they substituted the *Qērē*, and hence our present reading. The last part of vs. 13, "who define every new moon; whence (troubles?) are coming upon thee," is also full of difficulties, in view of the LXX reading *ἀναγγειλάτωσάν σοι τί μέλλει ἐπὶ σέ ἔρχεσθαι*. It is evident that the translator had before him a text differing from our Massoretic text, for he could scarcely have mistranslated the easy מִדְּעַם לְחֹדְשִׁים, as he has done apparently. If the LXX text is correct—and so it seems to me—we must omit לְחֹדְשִׁים as a gloss. This done, all difficulties in the way of understanding this obscure sentence are removed, and we read: "the star-gazers (astronomers) who show [thee] whence something will happen unto thee."⁸⁶

P. S.—After this whole article was in type and almost ready for the press, I received the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 145, in which Professor Haupt discusses "The Origin of the Mosaic Ceremonial," and T. C. Foote, "The Biblical Ephod."—Professor Moore writes to me (June 18): "I forgot to note that in 2 Sam. 20:18 Haupt regards רִיחָם as denominative from רִיחָם. (See Jastrow, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1900.)"

⁸⁶ The *Kēthib* shows us the way to this reconstruction, if we remember (a) that, as Lagarde and others have shown, the original manuscripts had neither vowel points, nor *matres lectionis*, nor the *final m* of the plural; (b) that no space was left between the several words of a sentence; and (c) that some letters of the alphabet are very easily confounded, as we can gather from their similarity on ancient Hebrew gems, money, and the few inscriptions preserved; or, again, (d) that letters sounded so much alike as to be easily interchanged.

⁸⁷ At a period later than the translation of the Septuagint. That this has been done constantly, even before the book was translated into Greek, has been shown succinctly and conclusively by the Roman Catholic Professor Anton Scholz in his "Rektoratsrede" on *Die Alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Jesaias* (Würzburg, 1888).

⁸⁸ I have examined every commentary within reach, but found none suggesting the way out of the difficulties besetting this verse. Delitzsch, Dillmann, Cheyne, etc., persist in rendering "the dividers of heaven." So also Marti (on p. 320 of *Das Buch Jesaja erklärt* ["Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," Lieferung 10], Tübingen, 1900), who takes not the slightest notice of Zimmern's suggestion made months before his commentary appeared.

AN ARABIC VERSION OF THE EPISTLE OF DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE TO TIMOTHY. ✓

BY REV. W. SCOTT WATSON, A.M.,
West New York, N. J.

The writing that purports to be a letter addressed by Dionysius the Areopagite to the Timothy of the New Testament on the occasion of the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul in Rome, is not included among the epistles usually associated with *Περὶ τῆς οὐρανίας ἐπαγγελίας* and the other works that bear the name of the same person as author, and its history must be investigated independently of theirs. Composed originally in Greek, it no longer exists in that language, unless it lies hidden in some unpublished manuscript,¹ but it is known through ancient versions, an extant copy of one being as old as the seventh century. A Latin translation has been printed several times, appearing appended to the 1478 edition of Nicolaus de Gorran's *Postilla super Epistolas Pauli* as the earliest dated, if not absolutely the first, Dionysian production of the press. Armenian and Syriac texts were published by Martin in Pitra's *Analecta Sacra* (Tom. IV, Paris, 1883), and an English rendering of an Ethiopic one was given by Malan in connection with his version of Abdias' *The Conflicts of the Holy Apostles* (London, 1871).

To the material for the critical study of this epistle I now add a hitherto unprinted Arabic translation that appears not only to have been made directly from the lost original, although already interpolated, Greek text, but also to show that an Arabic form lies back of three, if not of all, of the other versions.² It is from a manuscript obtained by me in Syria that, though without a date, is probably of the seventeenth century.³ The document

¹ The reported existence of Greek manuscripts of this epistle in Vienna and Florence is probably incorrect.

² I will not now go into details, but expect at some future time to prepare a paper on this subject. I will say, however, that I think that in its original form this epistle was very different from what it is at present, containing, for example, no mention of Peter or of an apparition of Paul.

³ The manuscript consists of twelve leaves of paper $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ inches in size. Pp. 2-22 are occupied by the present text, the other three pages being blank except that p. 23 bears the

is reproduced with literal exactness; it seemed unnecessary to call special attention to all the scribal inaccuracies, but some emendations are suggested in the footnotes.

ARABIC TEXT.

هذه رساله ارسلها ديونيسوس الكبير الي ثيموثاوس الرسول تلميذ
بولص السليم من اجل شهادة الرسولين القديسين
بطرس وبولس بمدينة روميه العظما*.

للتلميذ الالهي والابن الروحاني وتلميذ* الاله ووريثه* ومكمل
مشيائه* والمصطبر علي شدايده* والعالى علي كل المذامج* والمثاني
المعلم الحق والاب الروحاني ثيموثاوس من [د]يونيسوس الان
افرح لان ذلك الابس الاله والمصلوب للمسيح والمالوم معه وابو
الالسن ومنير الكنايس ومظلم الملة الخفيفية* الفاش* الذي به
شققت* [III]¹⁰ ابوب الخطيه الحجر الالماس المبعد والحاطم الخطايا

الخط يبقا زمانا مديدا وصاحب الخط تحت الارض مدفون words
يا قاري [اذ] كرنه بدعاك "The writing remains a long time and the writer is

buried under the earth; O reader, remember me in thy prayer." (The letters inclosed in brackets and the three similarly treated in the main text have been lost through injury to the manuscript.) All the writing, including the few corrections, is from one hand.

* The title is in red ink. Many red dots are scattered through the text, as though to punctuate it, but I have omitted them because of the arbitrary way in which they were placed.

and تلميذ* or some other word referring to Paul should be found between رسول*
الاله.

* Read المذامج or, following the analogy of the MS. elsewhere.

* The sense requires that this word and those from the same root found elsewhere in the text be read as from حنف "to incline [from right to wrong]" and not from حنف "to incline [from wrong to right]."

* Read الفاس.

* A | after this word; the scribe began to write the following ابوب, but concluded the space was too limited.

¹⁰ Roman numerals indicate the pages of the MS.

حجر المغناطيس الهادم العالميات والمشتت الجن المبيد اعيادهم
 الملاك الارضي والانسان السماوي المقتدر القوي الشجاع الشهم
 الايقونة الالهية والصورة المسيحية الراد للشعوب وعدو اليهودية
 المقلد الجموع والمعظم الكنيسة المهتم الروحاني وترس العدل
 خادم المسيح وكارز الانجيل الذي شق الحنيفة وفرح الكنيسة
 الفم الالهي واللسان الروحاني جامع ومنتاش الغايصن اب
 اليتاما وقيم الارامل المنهض الواقعين والمثبت الواقفين الشافي
 [IV] الامراض والمعصب المهشمين الجسم الذي ضم البلدان
 المسكن المدن النوتي الحكيم المركب الخلص المشتاق الي الاشيا
 التي فوق والقاهر التي اسفل هذا الان قد خلفنا في الاتعاب
 الصعبة وانصرف الي المسيح يا اخي تيموثاوس اين ابوك الروحاني
 اين معلمك يا تلميذاً واداً المعلم من اين تجيني الان بسلامة
 من البر او من البحر من غلاطية او من اسبانيا من اسيا او
 من قرنتيوس الان قد صرت يتيماً فريداً يا اخي ثيموثاوس قد
 انقطع سعيك المسرع ما يكتب اليك الان اين تلك اليدان
 المقدستان يا ولدي ما ارسل اليك [V] ايضا ان تجي الي معلمك
 في بعض المدن يا اخي ثيموثاوس اين سمعت ان حصل ابوك
 الروحي بولص الان اليوم كملت كلمت السيد القايله حقاً اقول
 لكم انكم تشتاقون ان تبصروا ساعة واحدة من معلمكم¹¹ فما

¹¹ Read وصل .

¹² The attached pronoun changed from ك to كم .

ترونها" يا اخي ثيموثاوس قد وافانا يوم الحزن والنوح يوم
الظلمة والادلهام فمن لا يهتف مع النبي قايلًا من يعطي راسي
مياها وعيني ينبوع دموع فاجلس باكيا ليلا ونهارا علي يتم
الكنيسة يا ثيموثاوس اجمع الان مصاحفك كلها لان من ذا يوجد
يترجم لك كلام الانبيا المكتوم [VI] قل الان" انا مثل عاموص
النبي انا راعي معزي وما تحتاج تخدمه ايضا في رباطته ولا تدرس
ايضا رسايله" المغبوطنة ولا يرسل اليك انه عار وجلود ولا تقلق"
بانه في شدايد كبار ولا يكتب اليك من بولص اسير يسوع
المسيح ولن يحتاج الان اليك ولا يكرز بك منه في المدن قبلوا
ابني وحببي يا اخي ثيموثاوس هات معك¹⁷ ارميا النبي القايل
قلبي متقطع من الحزن وما يفتر من لا يتردا الحزن والنوح"
ومن لا يشتمله دوار الالمات ايها الكهنة البسوا المسوح [VII] ويا
خدام المذابح ابكوا ونوحوا في الرامة قد سمع صوت لا نوح فقط
لكن وموت لان ضربتين مرتين صارتا في يوم واحد وحزنين في
ساعة واحدة وخبرين كاسرين في وقت واحد وحزن وغم ونوح

¹³ There are considerable differences between the quotations in this document and the passages as they appear in the Bible.

¹⁴ Between **الان** and **انا** occurs a dittograph of the six words **مصاحفك كلها** **الان**, the last three of which were canceled by the scribe himself.

¹⁵ **رسايله** superimposed upon **رباطته**; cf. the fourth word preceding.

¹⁶ Final **ق** changed from **ل**.

¹⁷ **ع** changed from **ع**.

¹⁸ The article at first followed by **ح**; cf. the preceding word.

اعظم من كل نوح الان تمت كلمت يعقوب ان يوسف فقدته
وبنيامين ما رايتة والان بولص صو الكنيسة ونحمر المسيحية ليس
حاضرًا وبطرس اساس الكنيسة ورجاء المومنين¹⁹ ليس موجودًا قد
كملت كلمت النبي القايله ان حجارة مقدسة مطروحة مدرجة
في هذا اليوم تم ما قال داود [VIII] النبي انهم بدلوا²⁰ جثث
عبيدك لطيور السما ولحوم ابرارك لوحوش الارض اين جري بولص
الان قد استراحت²¹ تلك الرجلتان المقدستان من تعب الطريق
وما تقع ايضا رجلاه في الفلق والحبوس ولا يتكفف ولا يتقيد ولا
يمشي ايضا الي بلدان الاعجام ولا يدخل [A] لمدن والجزاير ولا
تمتد ايديه في حبال الصواري ولا يركب في الزواريق اي بلد لم
يدخلها واي مدينة لم يسلكها اكم تعب تكبده اين تلك
اليدتان²² المقدستان كم من رسايل الالهية كتبها²³ بكم سلاسل
غللتا كم قبلت من شعب [IX] اليهود ربطات اين هو ذاك
الجسم المقدس القابل الضرب والمصطبر علي الشدايد اين ذاك
الفم الناطق واللسان الدرب اين حكمة الحكماء اين نطق
الفلاسفة والنفس الالبسة الاله يا اخي ثيموتاروس فلنعملن لمعيد

¹⁹ و superimposed upon ; cf. the preceding syllable of the word.

²⁰ Read بدلوا.

²¹ قد استراحت in the right margin.

²² A ي between the ن and the ج canceled.

²³ Part of this word has been lost through injury to the MS., but it was certainly as here given and not a dual form.

الاعيان عيدًا ولنصنعن لذلك القربان المقبول قربانًا كن ذاكرًا
 ذلك الذاكر للقديسين منذاً لا ينوح علي المستحقين
 الاكرام لانهما اسلماء الي الموت كصانعي الشرور يا اخي
 ثيوتارس لو كنت شاهدة ذلك الجهاد العجيب وسعنة لعنة من
 افراط حزنك [X] كنت اصحليت لان حزنك لم يكثر ان لم تكن
 حاضرًا وقت خروجهما* ليقبلًا القضية من لم ينوح في تلك
 الساعة المولمة والحزنة حين كانت ايديهما مغلولة بسلاسلٍ مثل
 قتلة والمخاضل مجتمعة لمنظر تلك الاعجوبة والشيوخه المكرمة
 مشتركة من الحنفا واليهود من ذا لم يبكي في تلك الساعة ان
 كانوا يبهقون في وجوههما ويقبلان الضرب من كل جانبٍ
 صامتين كخاروفين ودعين يسلم احدهما علي الآخر ببكاء وحزن
 ويفارق احدهما الآخر بحضراتٍ وغم وببصير* احدهما الآخر ويفرق
 بينهما ويسلمان [XI] الي الموت ايها الاخوان واعصاي وبني وحببة
 واحدة احدهما اسلم الي الصليب والآخر الي القتل اي قلب* لم
 ينوح ان يسمع ابوي الحق بطرس وبولص قائلين امضي مسلمًا
 يا معظم الكنيسة ذهلت السموات لمفارقة القديسين فزعت
 الارض لما قبلت دم نفسي البارين الزكي الهواء تالم من اجل

²⁴ Read as two words.

²⁵ The ح at first ج .

²⁶ At first ويصير ; when the scribe inserted the ا , he neglected to remove the second ا .

²⁷ | (1) erased from before قلب .

موت هذين القديسين الملائكة ذهلت من جهاد تلك
الشيخوخة المكرمة من هو العادم العلم ان يبصر بطرس معلقاً
علي الصليب منكساً ينفع حزنا انا يا اخي ثيموثاوس لم اكن
قريباً منه لما قبل القضية لاني مضيت [XII] مع بولس لان هما
ليسا في موضع واحد استشهدا جميعاً ويحي يا اخي ثيموثاوس ما
كان امر تلك الساعة التي فيها امر السيف لبولس ان يطاطي
رأسه تحت السيف وعيناه يهلان الدموع وبلى يا اخي في تلك
الساعة التي رايتك ناظراً الي السما ورأساً علي جبهته المقدسه
صليباً وبسكون بغير شده امال رأسه تحت السيف وبلى يا اخي
من تلك الساعة التي رايتك فيها مخصباً بدمه وبلى يا اخي
الروحاني انك صرت مستوجباً لمثل هذا الموت وبمع لي يا ابي
الروحاني كيف افك صرت لي تاركاً وحدي [XIII] الي اين مضيت
اين اطلبك يا نضر المسيحيه ومعلم الامم من سكنت نغمتك
التي عظمت الكنيسة من ذا احرس قيثارتك التي لحنت الالهيات
ككيف امضي الي تلاميذك يا معلم العدل وماذا اقول لهم عندك
انك محبوس او مقيد منهم من²⁹ ارسله اليك الي من تحتاج منهم
او من تريد منهم لانك من الان ما تحتاج الي احدٍ منهم من
اورشليم قبلت الاغلال وفي روميه بعد سنتين انحلت منك لان
داود في توجه³⁰ هكذا كان قايلًا الويل لي يا ابني ويحي يا³¹ ولدي

²⁹ Read نحوه. ³⁰ interlineated. ³¹ A و before يا canceled. ³² كيف interlineated.

وانا هكذا عتيد ان اقول الويل لي [XIV] يا ابي الريح لي يا معلمي لان هذه الضربة ما يوجد لها عصاب وهذا النوح ليس لى عزاء وهذا الوجع ليس لى شفا لانكما في حياتكما صرتما متوافقين وفي وفاتكما القيت اجسادكما مثل جثث الحيوان كم من كنائس تتوقع مناجاتكما وكم من كهنة ينتظرون يقبلون منكم رسايلا اليوم تبطل طرفات تلاميذك من رومية اليوم صارت تلاميذك يتاما من يصلح مند الان بين الغضوبين من يلخص لنا الكتب ما نسارع مند الان الي رومية ولا نقول ايضا تعالوا نجتمع ونمضي بولص ونسمع منه الكتب والتفسير [XV] ما نحتاج ايضا الي كتب الانبيا لاننا ما نجد من يفسرها لنا الي من سلمت تلاميذك يا معلم الحق مغبوظة رومية اذ استحكمت هذه الكرامة السيديّة بالحقيقة اب قد تواخت اورشليم ورومية لان تلك قتلت المسيح وهذه قتلت رسولي اورشليم تتجد لمن صلبت ورومية تعيد للذين قتلتهما يا اخي ثيموثاوس لقد رايت عجوبة عظيمة في اليوم الذي فيه توجا الرسولين بطرس وبولص لانه لما فارق احدهما الاخر عاينتهما داخلين قدامي

²² after لى, but canceled by the scribe; cf. the preceding context.

²³ The ٤ at first of the final form.

²⁴ Read جثث .

²⁵ Omit the first ٤, the scribe having written that letter prematurely and neglected to erase it.

²⁶ There is a blank space sufficient for the word الى to the right of بولص .

²⁷ Changed from اين .

في باب واحد معاً احدها ماسك يد الاخر [XVI] لابسين لبس
الملك وعلى راسيهما تاجان موضعان ولست انا وحدي استكفيت
هذا المنظر بل وشابة واحدة كانت من جنس نيرن المنافق كان
بولص القديس قد عمدها لانه لما خرج ليستشهد اخذ منها
عمامة راسها وقال لها اذا عدت جيتك بها فلما احني راسه
تحت السيف لف وجهه بتلك العمامة ولما عاد الجند قالت لهم
تلك الشابة اين؟ هو بولص فاجابوها قايلين هو في ارمانون³⁸
قتيلاً طريقاً وعمامتك ملفوف بها وجهه ملتوتة بدمه فاجابتهم
تلك الشابة ان بطرس وبولص الان عبرا [XVII] بي هاهنا
لابسين زي الملك وموضع علي روسهما تاجين وتلك العمامة التي
دفعتهما الي بولص قد جاني بها فلما ارتهم اياها دهلوا³⁹ وسجوا
الله وكثيرين منهم امنوا بالله وصاروا من اجل هذه الجبيبة
مسيحين فلان يا اخي ثيموثاوس هما قريبان منا بالروح يا اخي
قد مضى من كنت تحبه الي عند المسيح وكما كان شاول ويوناثان

³⁸ *تلك* after *اين*, but canceled by the scribe; cf. the preceding context.

³⁹ Both the Syriac and the Armenian versions have here a similar word, but the editor of those texts says, "Quid significet vox illa *armenum* plane nescimus." Old Latin readings are "in valle pugili" and "in valle pugilum." An account of this kerchief incident is also given in *Πρόξενος τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου*, and there Paul is said to have been executed in a place called *Ἀκουαὶ Σελβίας*—the words are variously spelled in the MSS.—i. e., Aquae Salviae or Abbadia della Tre Fontane. The mention of waters in this parallel passage and elsewhere in connection with Paul's death suggests that the *ارمانون* of the present MS.—and of the Arabic text that lies back of the Syriac and Armenian versions—is a corruption of *أرض عيون* "land of springs," a term similar to *مرج عيون* "meadow

of springs," the designation of a district in Syria. (Cf. note 49 for an instance of the use of *أ* in the place of a *ع*. The Arabic name of Armenia is different from the word in the text).

⁴⁰ Read *ذهلوا*.

في حياتهما وموتهما لم يفترقا كذلك ونحن لم نتميز منهما حتي
فرقهم الناس منا وهذه الفرقة ليس فيها قطع رجا لان الفرقة
القاطعة الرجا انما هي اذا فرقت الملايكة قوما من قوم
[XVIII] والنسب من ذوي جنسهم وليس كان قد انفصلنا من
اجماع الرسولين هاهنا فليس من ذلك قطع رجا وانما الفرقة التي
تقطع الرجا هي الصائرة من الله هناك التي لا يكون فيها عز
الي دهر الدهور وما يدنوا احد من احباية فاما نفوس
الابرار فان بعضها يشاهد بعض ولها ذكر ومنظر وتعرف جميع
الاشيا سواء الكلام فاما الرسولان بطرس وبولص فانهما في تلك
الحياة المعبودة ونفوسهما متنعمة بالحياة الباقية التي لا تموت
ولن تستطيع كل نفس ان تدنوا من انفسهما اولايك بولص
الشاتم لئلا في الناموس والمكرم اياه بلا ناموس [XIX] وذلك
الذي كان يحارب المسيح عن خيانة اليهود يقاتل اليهود والحنفا
بالحب والود الذي كان له مع كنائس الشعوب بولص المشوي
وجمال الامم والمرحوم والماصور من اجل الشعوب يا لعنف غنا
معرفة حكمه الله ان احدا لا تستقصا احكامه فاما انت يا اخي
فتفهم هذه الاشيا والله ابر كل رحمة يمنهم نفسك الفهم اين
بولص اين بطرس اين الناطقين الالهيات بالحقيقة يا اخي

⁴¹ Read *sed* for *sed*.

⁴² before *من* canceled.

⁴³ The *α* at first *α*.

⁴⁴ Read *والمرجوم*.

⁴⁵ Read the initial letter as *π*.

ثيموثاوس ان الويل للولاد اذا اضاعوا ابايهم والتلاميذ اذا فقدوا
 معلميهم والغنم اذا فقدت رعاتها ورويح المريض الذي يكون
 الطبيب بعيداً منه واما لذلك اللسان [XX] الدرب والبحر الذي
 لا يلمس واما للعصف الذي لا يدرك واما يا بولص الحصن*
 الذي يجمع الغنا ويخزنه في الكتب فلو كنت قلت لنا انك
 تنصرف الي المسيح سريعاً لعلمنا كنا غنيين بترجمة رسايك ماذا
 نعمل انك افقدتنا قرات الكتب ويحي من هذا الحزن وانكسار
 القلب يا اخي ثيموثاوس لا تقري في العتيقة بل اذكر القرايين
 التي امرنا بها بولص عالماً ان كل كلمة معولة من الله هي
 حد جزم لان هكذا امر بولص الالهي الناطق في الالهيات ان لم
 يكن في الكنيسة مترجمون فلا تقري الكتب فلان قد اخذ
 [XXI] صاحب الحكم كل التفاسير يا اخي ثيموثاوس صوم وصلي
 واسهر وابتهل ان يوهلنا⁴⁷ المسيح للملك مع بولص معلمنا لان
 تلميذ ايليا من معلم طلب ما يفوق الحد لكن انظر انه ما
 منع الموهوبة⁴⁸ لانه ارض معلم ولا سام ولا متكاسلاً عن معلم
 ومع هذا ان العناصر كانت ترتعد منه والناس قاطبة يبغضونه
 وهو لم يفارق معلمه وقد كان له تلاميذ كثيرون ولاكن لم
 يصابر منهم سوا اليسع وحده وبنوا اسراييل كانوا يشتمونه قايلين

⁴⁶ Read الحسن.

⁴⁷ Read يوصلنا.

⁴⁸ A before this word canceled by writing the initial I over it.

⁴⁹ Read عرض.

هذا تلميذ النبي هذا تلميذ ناقص الناموس ولم يكن يجاوبهم
 فلهذا اهل للموهبة التي طلبها من معلمه وانت ايضا تعلم
 ان " كثيرين [XXII] كانوا لبولص ولم يصابر احد معه الشدايد
 الا انت وحدك فبالحقيقة يا اخي انك مستوجب لموهبة النعمة
 اكن ذلك الجازي للاتعاب يجازيك عوض جميع الصعوبات
 والاتعاب التي صابرتها مع بولص القديس بصلوات جميع الذين
 خدمتهم في رباطهم امين ولله اب الكل التسبيح مع ابنه
 الوحيد والروح القدس الحي الان ودايما امين

TRANSLATION.

This is an Epistle that Dionysius the Great sent unto Timothy the Apostle, the Disciple of Paul the Apostle, on Account of the Martyrdom of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in the City of Rome the Grandest.

To the godly disciple and spiritual son, even the disciple [of the apostle⁵¹] of God and his heir and the fulfiller of his will and the endurer of his adversities, even the one rising above all praises and the imitator of the true master⁵² and spiritual father, Timothy, from Dionysius.

Now I rejoice that that one clothed with God, he who was crucified for Christ and suffered with him, the many-tongued,⁵³ the enlightener of the churches and darkener of heathendom, the axe by which were shattered [III] the gates of sin, the diamond removing far off and crushing sins, the magnet demolishing worldly things and dispersing demons, the destroyer of their feasts, the terrestrial angel and celestial man, the powerful, the strong, the courageous, the sagacious, the divine image and Christly picture, the friend of the Gentiles⁵⁴ and enemy of Judaism, the diminisher of the synagogues⁵⁵ and magnifier of the church, the spiritually concerned and shield of justice, the servant of Christ and preacher of the gospel, he who pierced through heathendom and rejoiced the church, the godly mouth and spiritual tongue, the gatherer and taker

⁵⁰ ان interlineated.

⁵¹ Cf. note 4. The emendations suggested in the notes to the Arabic text have been followed in the translation.

⁵² Or teacher, and so throughout this translation.

⁵³ Lit., the father of tongues. ⁵⁴ Or peoples, and so elsewhere. ⁵⁵ Lit., the assemblies.

out of those plunging [into sin], the father of orphans and support of widows, the raiser up of the falling and confirmer of the standing, the healer [IV] of the sick and binder up of the wounded, he who united countries, the pacifier of cities, the wise sailor, the putter together, the saver, the one desirous of the things which are above and overcoming those which are lower—this one now hath left us behind in hard toils and departed unto Christ.

O my brother Timothy, where is thy spiritual father? where thy master, O disciple loving his master? Whence wilt thou now bring me greetings—from the land or from the sea, from Galatia or from Spain, from Asia or from Corinth? Now thou hast become an orphan alone. O my brother Timothy, thy swift course is ended. He will not write to thee now—where are those holy hands?—"O my child;" he doth not send to thee [V] also to come to thy master in some city. O my brother Timothy, where hast thou heard that thy spiritual father Paul hath now arrived? Today is fulfilled the word of the Lord, saying, "Verily, I say to you that ye will desire to behold one hour of your master and will not see it." O my brother Timothy, there hath overtaken us the day of grief and mourning, the day of darkness and blackness, and who will not cry out with the prophet, saying, "O that my head were waters and mine eyes a fountain of tears, then would I sit weeping night and day for the orphanhood of the church!"

O Timothy, gather together now all thy volumes, for who is it that will be found interpreting to thee the hidden speech of the prophets? [VI] Say now, "I am like Amos the prophet, I am a feeder of goats." And thou wilt also need neither to serve him in his bonds nor to study his blessed epistles; he will not send to thee that he is naked and scourged, nor wilt thou be disturbed through his being in great adversities, nor will he write to thee, "From Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ." Not at all will he need thee, nor will it be preached by thee from him in the cities, "Kiss ye my son and my beloved."

O my brother Timothy, take with thee Jeremiah the prophet which saith, "My heart is broken from grief, and what will allay it?" Who will not put on grief and mourning and whom will not the circuit of death encompass? "O ye priests, clothe you with sackcloth, [VII] and ye ministers of the altars, weep and mourn." "In Ramah is heard a voice, not of mourning only, but even of death." For two bitter strokes have come in one day and two griefs in one hour and two rending reports in one time, even grief and sorrow and mourning greater than all mourning. Now is fulfilled the word of Jacob, "Joseph have I lost and Benjamin do I not see;" and now Paul, the light of the church and glory of Christianity, is not present, and Peter, the foundation of the church and hope of believers, is not found. Fulfilled is the word of the prophet, saying, "Holy stones are cast away, rolled down in this day." Accomplished is what David [VIII] the prophet said, "They gave bountifully the dead bodies of thy servants to the birds of the heaven and the flesh of thy righteous ones to the beasts of the earth."

Where is Paul's course now? Those holy feet have rested from the toil of the way. His feet fall not in stocks and prisons—he is not pinioned or fettered—nor doth he travel unto strange countries⁵⁶ or enter cities and islands; his hands are not stretched out in the ropes of masts, nor doth he ride in ships. What country did he not enter and what city did he not pass through! How much did toil distress him! Where are those holy hands? How many godly epistles did he write! With how many chains were they manacled! How many bands did he receive from the people [IX] of the Jews! Where is that holy body that received the stroke and endured the adversities? Where is that eloquent mouth and practiced tongue—where the wisdom of the wise, the speech of philosophers, and the soul clothed with God? O my brother Timothy, let us make a feast for the observer of the feasts and let us bestow on that one the offering presented as an offering; remember thou that rememberer of the saints.

Who is it that will not mourn over those deserving of honor, for they were delivered unto death as evil-doers? O my brother Timothy, if thou hadst been a witness of that wonderful combat and hadst heard it, perhaps from the excesses of thy grief [X] thou wouldst have passed away; for thy grief was not great, as thou wert not present at the time of their going forth to receive the judgment. Who did not mourn in that painful and sorrowful hour, when their hands were manacled with chains like murderers and the crowds [were] assembled to see that wonder and the venerable old age reviled by the heathen and the Jews? Who is it that did not weep in that hour, when they were spitting in the faces of the two and both received beating from every side silent as gentle lambs? They greet each other with weeping and grief and separate in anguish and sorrow; they behold each other and are separated; and they are delivered [XI] unto death, O brethren and my members and my sons and one love—the one of them was delivered unto crucifying and the other unto slaying. What heart did not mourn, as it heard the truthful⁵⁷ Peter and Paul saying, "Depart submitting [to the will of God], O magnifier of the church!" The heavens were astonished at the separating of the saints; the earth was terrified when it received the innocent blood of the souls of the righteous ones; the air was pained on account of the death of these saints; the angels were astonished at the combat of that venerable old age; even the ignorant, when they beheld Peter hanging on the cross with his head downward, were distressed with grief!⁵⁸ (I, O my brother Timothy, was not near him when he received the judgment, for I went [XII] with Paul, for they were not martyred together in one place.)

Alas for me, O my brother Timothy, there was not a bitterer than that hour in which the swordsman commanded Paul to bow his head

⁵⁶ Lit., the countries of the strangers.

⁵⁷ Lit., the fathers of truth.

⁵⁸ Lit., who is the one lacking knowledge?—when he beheld . . . , he was distressed with grief!

under the sword, while his eyes overflowed with tears! Woe was me, O my brother, in that hour in which I saw him looking unto heaven and marking a cross on his holy forehead—and calmly without violence he bent his head under the sword. Woe was me, O my brother, from that hour in which I saw him dyed in his blood! Woe is me, O my spiritual brother, that thou art become worthy of such a death as this! Alas for me, O my spiritual father, how is it that thou art become to me one leaving me alone?

[XIII] Whither hast thou departed? Where shall I seek thee, O glory of Christianity and master of the nations? Who hath silenced thy melody that magnified the church? Who is it that hath made dumb thy harp that sounded the things of God? How shall I go unto thy disciples, O master of justice, and what shall I say to them about thee—that thou art imprisoned or bound? Which of them shall I send unto thee? Which of them dost thou need or which of them dost thou want?—for from now thou wilt not need one of them! From Jerusalem thou didst receive the manacles, and in Rome, after two years, they were loosed from thee. For David in his mourning thus was saying: “Woe to me, O my son; alas for me, O my child,” and I thus am ready to say, Woe to me, [XIV] O my father; alas for me, O my master; for for this wound⁵⁹ there is not found a bandage, and for this mourning there is no consolation, and for this sickness there is no cure. For in your life you became of one mind, and in your death your bodies were cast out like the dead bodies of animals.

How many churches are expecting your address, and how many priests are waiting to receive epistles from you today? Vain are the looks of thy disciples; from Rome today thy disciples have become orphans. Who henceforth will reconcile the angry? Who will elucidate the Scriptures⁶⁰ to us? We will not henceforth hasten unto Rome, nor will we say, Come, let us gather together and go unto Paul and hear from him the Scriptures and [their] explanation. [XV] We will not need the Scriptures of the prophets, for we will not find anyone who will explain them to us. Unto whom hast thou committed thy disciples, O master of truth? Blessed is Rome that she is deemed worthy in truth of this lordly honor. Jerusalem and Rome are sisters, for that one slew Christ and this one slew his apostles; Jerusalem will worship him whom she crucified and Rome will commemorate those whom she slew!

O my brother Timothy, I indeed saw a great wonder in the day in which the apostles Peter and Paul were crowned, for when they separated from each other, I perceived them entering together before me a certain door, the one holding the hand of the other, [XVI] clothed in royal apparel with crowns placed on their heads. And not I alone was deemed worthy of this sight, but also a certain young woman who was of the family of the impious Nero [and] whom Saint Paul had baptized. For when he went forth to martyrdom, he took from her the kerchief of her head and said to her, “When I return, I will bring thee it;” and when he bent his

⁵⁹ Lit., *stroke*.

⁶⁰ Or *books*, and so elsewhere.

head under the sword, he wrapped his face in that kerchief. And when the soldiers returned, that young woman said to them, "Where is Paul?" And they answered her, saying, "He is in Armanun⁶¹ slain [and] cast away, and as for thy kerchief, his face was wrapped in it [and it was] wet with his blood." And that young woman answered them, "Peter and Paul now passed by [XVII] me here clothed in royal attire with crowns placed on their heads, and that kerchief which I gave unto Paul he hath brought me." And when she showed them it they were astonished and worshiped God; and many of them believed in God and became Christians on account of this wonder.

And now, O my brother Timothy, they are near us in the spirit. O my brother, he whom thou wert loving hath departed unto Christ. And as were Saul and Jonathan [who] in their life and in their death were not separated, so also we were not parted from them until men separated them from us. And in this [kind of] separation there is not a cutting off of hope, for the separation cutting off hope is only when the angels separate some from others [XVIII] and kinsmen from those of their family. And it is not as though we had been divided from the followers of the apostles here; and there is not from that a cutting off of hope. The only separation that cutteth off hope is the going away from God there, in which necessarily it⁶² will not be for ever and ever. And they⁶³ will not approach one of those that love him. As for the souls of the righteous, they see each other and have memory and sight and know all things except speech, and as for Peter and Paul, they are in that blessed life and their souls are reposing in the abiding life which dieth not, and no soul is able to approach these their souls. Paul the reviler of God in the law and the honorer of him without the law, [XIX] even that one who was warring against Christ for the circumcision of the Jews [and afterward] was fighting the Jews and the heathen in the love and affection which he had for the churches of the Gentiles, Paul the desired and the beauty of the nations and the one stoned and imprisoned on account of the Gentiles—"O the depth of the riches of the knowledge of the wisdom of God, certainly no one can fathom his judgments!" But thou, O my brother, understandest these things, and God, the Father of every mercy, giveth thy soul understanding.

Where is Paul? Where is Peter? Where are those that spoke of divine things in truth? O my brother Timothy, woe are the children when their parents perish and the disciples when they lose their masters and the sheep when they lose their shepherds, and alas for the sick person from whom the physician is far off! Alas for that [XX] skilful and eloquent tongue that doth not make any inquiry; alas for the depth which doth not comprehend! Alas, O good Paul who gathereth the riches and storeth them in the Scriptures, if thou hadst said to us that thou wert departing in haste unto Christ, perhaps we had been enriched by the interpretation of thy epistles! What shall we do? Certainly thou hast deprived us of the reading of the Scriptures. Woe is me from

⁶¹ Vide note 39.

⁶² I. e., hope.

⁶³ I. e., the separating angels.

this grief and breaking of heart! O my brother Timothy, do not read the Old [Testament], but remember the offerings which Paul commanded us, knowing that every word performed by God is the end of a decree; for thus the godly Paul that spoke of divine things commanded, "If there be no interpreter in the church, do not read the Scriptures." And now [XXI] the possessor of wisdom hath taken all the explanations.

O my brother Timothy, fast and pray and watch and humble thyself that Christ may bring us unto the king with Paul our teacher. For the disciple of Elijah sought an extraordinary thing from his master, but he expected that he would not refuse the gift, for he followed his master and neither grew weary nor was negligent of his master, although the elements were agitated on his account and men, frowning on him, hated him; and he was not separated from his master. And he had many disciples, but none of them endured besides Elisha alone. And the children of Israel were reviling him, saying, "This is the disciple of the prophet, this is the disciple of the breaker of the law;" and he answered them not. And therefore he was fitted for the gift which he sought from his master. And thou also knowest that [XXII] Paul had many, but not one endured with him the adversities except thee alone; and in truth, O my brother, thou art deserving of the gift of grace. But that rewarder of toils will reward thee—may he recompense all the hardships and toils which thou didst endure with Saint Paul by the prayer of all whom thou didst serve in their bonds. Amen. And to God the Father of all be the praise with his only Son and the quickening Spirit now and evermore. Amen.

THE STORY OF AḤIḲAR AND THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

BY GEORGE A. BARTON, PH.D.,

Associate Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages,
Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Within the last few years a story long known in the Arabian *Thousand and One Nights* has turned out to be of unexpected interest to the biblical student. In 1880 Georg Hoffmann pointed out the identity of Achiacharus of Tobit 1:21 *sqq.*; 11:18, and 14:10, with a legendary sage, Aḥiḱar, who figured in a romance extant in certain Syriac MSS. as a vizier of Sennacherib.¹

Since that time, through the labors of Jagić, Conybeare, Salhani, Mrs. Lewis, and J. Rendel Harris, versions of the tale as preserved in Slavonic, Armenian, Arabic, and Syriac have been placed within our reach, while the acute criticisms of Meissner,² Lidzbarski,³ Dillon,⁴ and Harris⁵ have proved the tale to be older than the book of Tobit, and have demonstrated that the latter is dependent upon it. It is to Dillon and Harris that we are especially indebted for this demonstration. To the latter we are also indebted for having, with the aid of the other editors mentioned above, placed within our reach, in his volume on Aḥiḱar, the various versions of the story. The same scholar has also pointed out that if the book is older than Tobit it is also older than Daniel, and has collected, as noted below, a number of expressions common to the two works.

The substance of the tale is as follows :

Aḥiḱar, a vizier of Sennacherib, was possessed of wealth, wisdom, popularity, and power, but had no son. After vainly praying for one he was directed to adopt his nephew Nadan and to find in him the fulfilment of his prayers. This he did, rearing the child tenderly and

¹ Cf. Achiacharus in *Encyc. Bib.* and J. Rendel Harris' *Story of Aḥiḱar*, p. xiii.

² *ZDMG.*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 171-97.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 671-5.

⁴ *Contemporary Review*, Vol. LXXIII, pp. 362-86.

⁵ *The Story of Aḥiḱar*, Cambridge University Press, 1898.

instructing him in wisdom, the precepts of which are recounted to us at length. Nadan proved to be wilful and ungrateful. At length, when Aḥiḱar contemplated supplanting him by his younger brother, he forged treasonable letters in Aḥiḱar's handwriting, pretended to the king that he found them, and procured Aḥiḱar's condemnation to death. On a previous occasion Aḥiḱar had saved from the wrath of Sennacherib the very person who was now directed to cut off his head. An appeal to this man's gratitude persuaded him to slay a slave in Aḥiḱar's stead, while the latter was incarcerated in a dungeon under his own house, where he was tormented by the audible evidences of abuse of his property, his slaves, and his wife in which Nadan indulged. Meantime the king of Egypt, hearing of Aḥiḱar's death, sent to Sennacherib a series of absurd and impossible demands, such as eastern story-tellers attribute to powerful sovereigns, accompanied by veiled threats of detriment to Assyria in case his demands were not fulfilled. No one was able to tell Sennacherib what to do, and in his extremity the king was glad to reward Aḥiḱar's executioner for not putting him to death. Aḥiḱar was then brought forth from his dungeon, with "the color of his face changed, his hair matted like a wild beast, and his nails like the claws of an eagle." When he had recuperated Aḥiḱar went to Egypt, by his wisdom successfully met or baffled the king of Egypt in his demands, and thus delivered Assyria. When he returned to Assyria with enhanced reputation, Nadan was delivered to him for punishment; he flogged him, imprisoned him in the very dungeon where Aḥiḱar had himself been entombed, gave him some more instruction, and when the final punishment was ready for him Nadan swelled up and burst asunder, thus taking himself out of the way.

The story has been distorted in one way or another in each of the versions of it, so that a comparison of them all is necessary in order to bind together its different strands again. The publication of the different versions side by side in a convenient volume by Dr. Harris happily makes this possible.

If now the story is older than Tobit (a point demonstrated by Dillon and Harris), it is also older than Daniel, and the inquiry as to whether the latter book may not be in some respects dependent upon Aḥiḱar becomes a legitimate one. Dr. Harris has already pointed out⁶ a number of verbal parallels between the two. Thus in the Armenian version (p. 25), "I clad him in byssus and purple; and a gold collar did I bind around his neck," is very similar to "clothed with purple, and have a chain of gold about his neck" of Dan. 5:7, 16. So the statement in the Arabic (p. 87), "he assembled the astrologers, the learned men, and the wizards," resembles Dan. 5:7, "The king cried aloud to

⁶ *Story of Aḥiḱar*, p. lviii.

bring in the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers" (*cf.* Dan. 2:2, 27). Again the Armenian, "This is a matter that even the gods cannot settle or give answer to" (p. 44), which in the Arabic runs, "The gods themselves cannot do things like these; let alone men," is exactly parallel to "There is none who can show it before the king except the gods" (Dan. 2:11). Lastly the description of Aḥikar with his nails grown like eagles' talons and his hair matted like a wild beast, which, in one form or another, runs through all the versions of the story (*cf.* pp. 17, 45, 73, 103), not only reminds one strongly of the description of the hair and nails of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 4:30), but appears, as Harris has shown (p. lix), in a more original form than in the book of Daniel. He further points out that the fact that in Aḥikar's description of the wise men "Chaldeans" had not yet become a technical term for a sage, as it has in Daniel, is a further argument for the priority of Aḥikar.

All these points the acute critic of Aḥikar has admirably taken; but one wonders why he did not go on a step farther; for when we come to the more fundamental parallels between plots and methods of treatment, the story of Aḥikar becomes even more vitally interesting to the student of Daniel than before.

The first of these points to be noted is that Daniel was a wise man, like Aḥikar, excelling all others in wisdom, and, like him, vizier to his sovereign, whoever that sovereign might be. Granting the priority of Aḥikar, is there not a sign of dependence here?

The story of Aḥikar's fall from the pinnacle of power, his unjust incarceration in a pit under his house, his deliverance, and the imprisonment of his accuser in the same pit, is exactly parallel to Daniel's fall from like power, his imprisonment in the lions' den, his deliverance, and the casting of his accusers to the lions—a story which has been worked up in one way in Dan., chap. 6, where Darius, the Mede, is the king, and in another way in the apochryphal *Bel and the Dragon*, where Cyrus is the king. The story of Aḥikar makes it probable that we now have the pattern on which this narrative of Daniel was constructed.

In my opinion we should add to these the story of the three Hebrews and the fiery furnace in Dan., chap. 3, a narrative in which we find three men at the height of power caught by a trick and unjustly thrown into a furnace, from whence they are miraculously

delivered. The parallelism is not quite complete in this case, since the accusers do not finally receive the fate which they have brought upon Daniel, but it is practically completed by the decree that whoever "spake anything amiss against the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego shall be cut in pieces and his house shall be made a dunghill" (Dan. 3:29).¹ I expressed, more than two years ago, the opinion that Dan., chaps. 3 and 6, were independent parallel traditions, rather than connected stories, remarking "the same germ is found in both—the story of mortal danger induced by the interdiction of Israel's religion, from which deliverance is effected by miracle. This germ developed differently in the different traditions until, when it assumed literary form under the impetus of the persecution of Antiochus, in one center it was connected with Nebuchadnezzar and a fiery furnace, with Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego for heroes; and in another center in the hands of a different writer it was connected with Darius the Mede and a lions' den, with Daniel as the hero."² The story of Ahiqar confirms that opinion in so far as it supplies the common element of the two stories, giving us the model on which they were no doubt formed. It reveals, however, a fact which I did not then suspect—that this common element had nothing to do with Daniel or with religion, but was employed because it was a popular model, and because its plot readily lent itself to the expression of the lessons of fidelity to duty and faith in the triumph of right, which the writers desired to teach. Whence their material came we shall consider below.

Another point in which Ahiqar possibly became a model for the writers of Daniel is his ability to solve riddles. If not the model for Daniel in this respect, he exhibits what was demanded of the traditional wise man of the time; Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams in Genesis, on which the narratives of Daniel have often been thought to be modeled, prove that the tendency to require such power from wise men was a Hebrew trait much older than either Ahiqar or Daniel. What the newly found story really does for us in this respect is to make it clear that the atmosphere in the time when Daniel was written was surcharged with this conception of wisdom and its power.

¹ Dr. Harris privately reminds me that in folklore tales the villain is frequently cut in pieces, and also frequently, like Nadan, in the Ahiqar story, and Judas, in Acts 1:18, he swells up and bursts.

² *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVII, p. 71.

Viewing the subject broadly, the story of Aḥikar comes as the last element needed to enable us to conjecture how the stories in Daniel took shape :

1. There was the general situation of the persecution of Antiochus to be met ; Israelites had great need to be encouraged to fidelity, and obviously the best method of doing this would be to bring before their minds the examples of those who had been faithful under similar suffering at the hands of a foreign oppressor. This would naturally turn the mind of a writer to the exile. If the encouragement were to be effective, it was necessary to give a philosophy of history which would assure the righteous of ultimate triumph ; this led to the apocalyptic method.

2. Gunkel has shown us that much of the material employed in apocalyptic writings, called out by this and similar occasions, is drawn from Babylonian sources ;⁹ while Terry,¹⁰ Charles,¹¹ and others rightly hold that unfulfilled prophecy was also an important source of apocalyptic. Both kinds of material found its way into Daniel. The Babylonian was employed especially by the writer whom I have elsewhere¹² called A, while the prophetic is found throughout the book.¹³

3. When Daniel was written apocalyptic writing had already begun. As Charles has shown,¹⁴ Ethiopic Enoch, chaps. 1-36, was already in existence. The fashion was thus set of attaching such works to the names of worthies who had lived long ago. Enoch, however, would not answer the purpose of the present emergency, for his place was too firmly fixed by the Pentateuch among the antediluvians to permit even an apocalypticist to transfer him to the exile or to any other period when Israel was in subjection to a foreign monarch. Tradition had, though, passed on the name of an old patriarch, Daniel (Ezek. 14:14), of whom, if anything was known beyond the fact that he had a reputation for wisdom and righteousness, it has not been transmitted to us. He was taken, transferred to the exile, and, after apocalyptic fashion, made the mouthpiece of the writer's faith and hopes. That this

⁹ *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 235-338.

¹⁰ *Biblical Apocalypics*, p. 6 and *passim*.

¹¹ *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, pp. 170 sq.

¹² *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVII, pp. 79 sqq.

¹³ Cf. chaps. 3, 6, and 9 ; also Bevan's *Daniel*, pp. 73 sqq. ; Peters, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XV, pp. 109 sqq. ; also the commentaries on chap. 9.

¹⁴ *The Book of Enoch*, 1893, pp. 26 and 56.

is really what happened is confirmed by the apocryphal History of Susanna,¹⁵ in which Daniel appears simply as a judge of unusual wisdom—a rôle readily suggested by his name. No reference is made to the contents of our canonical book. The existence of this story shows that apart from apocalyptic material nothing was known of Daniel except what could be inferred from the meaning of his name.

4. Just here the story of Aḥiḳar comes to our aid to show whence the outline of the life of the patriarch, who to Ezekiel was an ancient figure like Noah and Job (Ezek. 14:14), came, when Daniel had been transferred to the exile. Here ready to the writer's hand was the life of Aḥiḳar. The scene had to be changed from the court of Sennacherib to that of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors, since the Israel which had returned from exile had suffered in Babylon; but when once transferred the outline of the Aḥiḳar story became the skeleton which gave form to all the material within the reach of the writers who devoted themselves to this task. It was thus, probably, that the Aḥiḳar skeleton, rechristened as Daniel, and given flesh, partly from the material of the Babylonian cosmogonic epic and partly from the unfulfilled prophecies of the past, lived again to minister comfort and to inspire with hope those who were engaged in a life-and-death struggle for the right to worship the God of their fathers according to their consciences.

I may add in conclusion that this view does not modify the views I have previously expressed of the composite character of the book of Daniel,¹⁶ since the use of the story of Aḥiḳar by the author of Tobit shows that it was well known; it no doubt formed a part of the intellectual equipment of the intelligent Jew of the time.

¹⁵ Cf. Peters in the *New World*, March, 1900, p. 186.

¹⁶ *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVII, pp. 62-86.

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY PROFESSOR C. LEVIAS,
Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.

1. בִּדְיוֹנָא.

The word occurs only in b Ber. 56a. The *Variae Lectiones* of Rabbinowicz give as variants בִּי דְיוֹנָא, בִּדְיוֹנָא, and מְזוֹנָא. Rashī, explaining the word as "a house where ornaments are kept," had evidently before him the reading בִּי דְיוֹנָא. The same meaning could be got out of מְזוֹנָא, which is evidently a denominative of יָיִן "arms, ornament;" while the forms בִּדְיוֹנָא, בִּי דְיוֹנָא might contain in their initial consonant an abbreviation of בִּי. I am rather inclined to translate all the forms as "arsenal, armory," connecting the last two variants with יָיִן "arms," and the first two with Arabic بَزَز, بَزَز, "arms." For 7 = 3 cf. my *Grammar*, § 31. As to the formation, we may have √בזא = בָּזַ, or the ע"ע stems pass before affirmatives into ל"י stems, just as the verbs ע"ע do before suffixes. (Cf. my *Grammar*, § 646.) I may add that some old editions have the marginal gloss בִּי דְיוֹנָא.

2. בִּרְקָא.

בִּרְקָא, in the expression סוּסֵיָא בִּרְקָא, for which Kohut (*s. v.* 1 בִּרְקָא) compares البراق and برقاء, is the same as Syriac ܒܪܩܬܐ (JAOS., Vol. XX, Part I, p. 194) "white" (?). Cf. also أَبْلَقَ "piebald," بَلَقَ "be colored partly black, partly white," بَلَقَ "piebaldness," Maltese blūqa "blackishness," Ethiopic balaq "marble." √برق = بَلَق, probably connected with בָּלַל "to mix."

3. נִכְנָא.

In the Targūm this word means (1) *molar, cheek-tooth*, and (2) *tooth* in general. In the Talmud it also occurs in both senses; but R. Ḥanan'el in A. Z. 28a, as well as Rashī, *ad loc*

translate the word by *gums*. In M. Q. 25a and 28a Rashi translates it לְחִיִּים, which may mean *cheeks*, as well as *jaws*. Tosaphot, Hull. 59b, A. Z. 28a, and Gitt. 69a object to Rashi's translation, "gums." The word goes back to Amh. kakkā "to rough-grind," and is, therefore, equivalent in meaning to Arab. طاحن, Hebr. טוֹחֶנֶת. Hence Chamir qakū "cheek," qakūā "molar." The stem כָּכַח is connected with נָכַח, נָגַח, נָכַשׁ = נָשַׁךְ, חָכַךְ, and חָכַךְ. Cf. Tigrè nākāk "jaw," Hausa nikka "to grind," Saho-Afar mingāgā "cheek, jaw," Galla mangagā "molar," Amh. mangāgā "jaw, molar," Eth. mankas "jaw," Arab. حَاكَا "tooth," Kafa haqō "cheek," hájetō "tooth," 'Afar-Saho ikō "tooth," Chamir-Bilin erək, Quara yerkü, Agaumedder erkū, Galla ilkā, Somali ilig "tooth," Bilin quaná "jaws, cheeks," Quara enjō, Amh. guñč "cheek," Hebr. יָהָךְ "palate," הַלְיָכִים "gums." It is evident from the above that כָּכַח might have had the meanings *cheek*, *jaw*, and *gums*, given by the commentators mentioned.

4. כִּנָּרָא .

כִּנָּרָא, Hebr. כִּנּוּר, Arab. كِنَارَة and كِرَان, are dissimilated forms of Amh. kirār "six-stringed lyre," from a כִּרְרִי "to sing." Cf. Amh. akrārā "to sing" = agārārā "to sing a song in war or on the chase."

5. מִין .

Littmann (ZA., Vol. XIV, p. 89, note 1) suggests that Hebrew-Aramaic מִין, מִין, is connected with Tigrè manā "create, invent." This is a very good suggestion, as all the significations of the word can easily be developed from the primitive meaning. For the sense of *kind* we may compare the use of בְּרִיאָה or בְּרִיאָה in later Hebrew, where it means *the natural, normal state* of a thing and is synonymously used with הוֹרָה, קְדָמָה, קְדָמָה, יָשָׁן, and עֵין. In the sense of *people* it would be equivalent to בְּרִיָּה, plural בְּרִיּוֹת, "creatures, people"; while the sense of *heretic* might have developed from the idea of inventing. I am, however, inclined to separate מִין in the last-mentioned sense from the word meaning *kind* and *people*, and to

derive it from مَنِية "village" (Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Mekkah*, Memorial edition, Vol. II, p. 180, note 1), مَنِية "vast garden" (Dozy). Thus it would have developed on the same lines as עַם דְּאֶרֶץ (cf. *Gesenius' Dictionary*, 13th ed., s. v. עַם) and our "pagan" and "heathen."

6. מוֹקְרָא .

מוֹקְרָא, מَحْمَلٌ, originally *yolk*, comes to mean *brain*, as the skull is compared to an egg-shell; cf. حَصْدَانٌ "egg, skull." Under its influence the reverse development takes place with مَحْمَلٌ, مَوْحٌ, originally *brain*, then *yolk*. The word is a transposition of מוֹקְרָא, מוֹקְרָא = מוֹקְרָא "to be of a yellow color;" hence probably also מוֹקְרָא "soup, broth." A phonetic variant is مَحْمَلٌ, hence Arab. مَوْحٌ.

7. שְׂצִינְתָּא .

Babylonian Aramaic שְׂצִינְתָּא "female" is the same as Assyrian sin(n)ištu and is derived from a stem שִׁצַן, which in south-Arabic has the sense of Hebr. נָקָה. Thus שְׂצִינְתָּא = נְקִיבָה, and the Assyrian word is a transposed form for šiṣintu.

8. מִזְרָא .

The stems Arab. مَذَرَ, مَذَرَ, مَذَرَ, مَذَرَ, Hebr. מִזְרָא, מִזְרָא, מִזְרָא, מִזְרָא, Aram. מִזְרָא, Syr. مَذَرَ, Tña *מִזְרָא (for מִזְרָא, with partial assimilation of labial to the dental sibilant), show two significations which cannot easily be connected: *to scatter, disperse, dissipate*, and *to change*, which latter develops, on the one hand, into the idea of *haste, precociousness*; on the other hand, into that of *rottenness, foul smell, dirtiness, moral turpitude*. Here belong מִזְרָא = מִזְרָא "be rotten," מִזְרָא = מִזְרָא "rotten;"¹ Tña midir "excrement," Maltese bżar "dung, marl;" Eth. meder and cognates "earth," literally "dirt;" Arab. بَذَرَ "indecent talk" (Dozy); Tña minzir "debauchee." The idea of change is clearly apparent in the Tña mānāzzārā "to

¹ The form of מִזְרָא is like that of מוֹקְרָא, usually taken to be a shortened form of מוֹקְרָא, but more probably a guttural-form. In מִזְרָא = מִזְרָא we would have Hebrew guttural = Syriac gattal, a relation usually found in reverse order.

change silver for salt-money," minzārē "change," Hebr מִנְזָר "sum of exchange for the bride" (with change of sibilant to guttural; cf. my *Aramaic Grammar*, § 26, and "Additions and Corrections" to it); מִנְזָר = בָּדַר "to hasten." The Arab. بَذَرَ, بَذَر, بَذِر have also amplified stems بَذَرَ, بَذِر (cf. Dozy, s. vv.), and *بِزَط (cf. below).

The Hebr. מִנְזָר has two significations: (1) *mongrel, cross-breed, offspring of a mixed marriage*, and (2) *bastard, unlawful child, child born in adultery*. Both meanings have been preserved in the Arabic. The first is Egyptian Arab. تَزْمِيط "one whose parents are not of the same nationality, cross-breed" (Spiro), which is transposed from مَبْزِيط; the other is مَبْذَر "spendthrift," which Clermont-Ganneau has discovered to mean also *bastard* (*OLZ.*, Vol. III, p. 31).²

9. מִנְזָר.

This word has already been connected by Wellhausen with מִנְזָר; but as the etymology of the latter word has been hitherto unclear, the etymological explanation of this connection could also not be evident. The Tna furnishes now a clue to it. It has minzārrāt "great-great-great-grandfather." The idea of *change* and *passing away* are closely connected, as in חָלַף, חֲלָף. The remote ancestor would then mean *one who has passed away*; then, through the meaning *ancestor, head of the family*, would develop into מִנְזָר = אָב "leader, counselor," etc. If the equation מִנְזָר = מִנְזָר = מִנְזָר be correct, then מִנְזָר will correspond to the Assyr. mahṛû.

10. narābu.

Assyr. narābu seems to be the cognate of Arab. نَفَر and the stem from which we get אֶרְנַבְתָּ hare; cf. my *Grammar*, p. 211, note 2.

² Interesting is the use of מִנְזָר as a verb: קִי מִנְזָר לְאִמֶּר כִּי מִנְזָר "and he (i. e., Saadya Gaon) proved himself to be a מִנְזָר (= בָּרִים) by claiming to be of pure Jewish descent." Cf. Harkavy, *Leben u. Werke Saadia's Gaon*, Vol. I, p. 220.

Book Notices.

PRINCE'S DANIEL COMMENTARY.¹

This commentary is "designed especially for students of the English Bible"—the title informs us—but it will prove of interest and value to students of the original. It discusses first, in the "General Introduction," pp. 1-56, the ancient translations of the book (rather briefly), its contents, unity, authorship, date, and the historical material contained therein. The "Critical Commentary," pp. 57-193, presents full notes on selected phrases and sentences of the English Bible, with occasional longer discussions on the contents and analysis of the chapters and some of the more important subjects, *e. g.*, Shinar, the Chaldeans, overthrow of the new Babylonian empire, etc. The technical points are reserved for the "Philological Commentary," pp. 195-259. There are five additional notes, pp. 260-65, and four indices: of subjects, of Aramaic, Assyrian, and Hebrew words and stems.

Professor Prince divides the book of Daniel into two parts: chaps. 1-6 (the stories), 7-12 (the visions). The unity of the book is defended, though the use of older materials is freely conceded. Only one explanation of the bilingual character of Daniel is admitted to be possible: parts of the Hebrew text being lost, an Aramaic translation was put in their place. Reasons against the exilic date are fully stated, and the composition put into the Maccabean age. The discussion of the historical material is full and careful, on the whole, of course, unfavorable to the historicity of the stories. The possibility of a connection of the hero of the book with the Daniel of Ezekiel is dismissed rather summarily. Yet may not the Daniel of Ezekiel be the starting-point of the Daniel stories, or at least the reason why the tradition places Daniel in the exile? Belshazzar is the son of the last king of Babylon, but never king himself.

The interpolation of Darius the Mede must be regarded as the most glaring inaccuracy of the book of Daniel."

Many useful remarks are contained in the critical commentary. Of special value, even for the professional student, are the notes on such subjects as the Chaldeans, pp. 59 *sqq.*; the Greeks in Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, pp. 78 *sq.*; fall of Babylon, pp. 92 *sqq.*; Medes and Persians, pp. 116 *sqq.*, etc. Professor Prince has collected a large amount of material and presented it in a very convenient form. In the interpretation of מְנַחֵם חֶקֶל וּפְרִסְיָא—the subject of his own doctorate thesis—he

¹ A CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF DANIEL. Designed especially for Students of the English Bible. By J. Dyneley Prince, Professor of Semitic Languages in New York University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. viii + 270 pp. \$2.

follows Clermont-Ganneau and translates: "There have been counted a mina [Nebuchadrezzar], a shekel [Belshazzar], and (two) half minas [Medes and Persians]." It may be an Aramaic translation of a Babylonian proverb, with some historical tradition as its basis. The "son of man" is not the Messiah. The term is correctly explained "a human being," a symbol of the saints. The end of the seventy weeks of Daniel falls into 164 B. C. (the restoration of the temple worship).

Perhaps the most important service which this commentary does for us is the use which Professor Prince makes of the cuneiform inscriptions in the interpretation of the book of Daniel. The results of his special studies appear on every page, especially in the philological commentary, and are of great value. One wishes that the discussion were sometimes fuller. Some points brought out are doubtful: the identity of בָּר and בִּר , p. 195 (cf. Lindberg, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 93); the connection between אֲשַׁרְיִן and *Ištar-apal-uṣur*, p. 195; בְּרִיא and the Assyrian *barû* "to be hungry," p. 199; $\text{בִּר מֶן} = \text{בִּרִּם}$, p. 207. (Better Marti, § 94c; Dalman, § 55, בִּר מֶן). The process by which the stem פָּלַח "to split" acquired the meaning "to worship" or "serve" is rather fanciful (cf. Delitzsch, *Prol.*, pp. 176 sq.). But thanks are due to the author for the rich collection of material and its clear presentation.

The treatment of the text is careful and conservative; many emendations proposed by others are rejected.

The arrangement of the book might be criticised. Undoubtedly it will prove convenient to the class of students for whom it is primarily intended. Some of the longer notes would perhaps be more convenient in the introduction. A section might have been added on the place of Daniel in the Jewish religious history. There is no bibliography in the book, though the references to books are very full. The list of abbreviations is not complete; abbreviations like J., p. 68; P. D., p. 76; R., p. 76; M., p. 77 (in the English commentary!) can hardly be understood by the general reader. To write a critical commentary on the book of Daniel is no easy task in view of the many problems involved. It is even more difficult to present the latest results of critical research in a popular way. Professor Prince undertook this difficult task, and did his work, on the whole, in an admirable manner.

ALOIS BARTA.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

STRACK'S THE BLOOD IN THE BELIEF AND IN THE SUPERSTITION OF MANKIND.¹

Although it is but a simple duty to tell the truth, still this duty is shirked by many even truthful men, not to speak of those moral degenerates who are bent on spreading falsehoods. The author of this book,

¹ DAS BLUT IM GLAUBEN UND ABERGLAUBEN DER MENSCHHEIT. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der "Volksmedizin" und des "jüdischen Blutritus." Von Hermann L. Strack. Fünfte bis siebente Auflage, 12.-17. Tausend. (Neubearbeitung der Schrift *Der Blutaberglaube*.) München: C. G. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (Oskar Beck), 1900. xii + 208 pp.; 8vo. M. 2. (= Schriften des *Institutum Judaicum* in Berlin, No. 14.)

who has the manly courage to come out openly and to proclaim the truth, well knowing that he would have to suffer for it, as he did, certainly deserves the thanks of every right-minded man, whatever his religious affiliation be. The work contains a wealth of data, culled from mediæval and modern literature, which is interesting alike to the folklorist as well as to the lawyer, to the physician as well as to the theologian, to the historian as well as to every educated man. Let us hope that the work will achieve its purpose to shed light on the sad blood-superstition and to terminate the blood-accusations which disgrace modern Christianity.

C. LEVIAS.

THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE,
Cincinnati, O.

SCHLESSINGER'S OLD FRENCH WORDS IN THE MACHSOR VITRY.¹

In spite of the abundant extant material of early French texts with Hebrew characters, it may be said that almost nothing has heretofore been done that will stand the scrutiny of the philologist of today. Böhmer touched the subject only superficially, while Arsène Darmesteter, who alone possessed the proper critical acumen and philological training in both the Hebrew and Romance fields, died just as he had undertaken to investigate the French glosses in Rashi's commentaries. The present investigation, which is carried on in the spirit which Darmesteter would have sanctioned, is therefore a gratifying beginning. Let us hope that before long will follow other glosses, but especially complete texts, such as is the valuable work on mediæval medicine which Steinschneider has described at some length in the catalogue of the Berlin Imperial Library. In the present collection from the Machsor Vitry, French scholars will find an abundant harvest of new words, while those who are interested in any aspect of mediæval life will be glad to discover a few new illustrations of the culinary art, the botany, and the domestic life of French Jews in the thirteenth century.

LEO WIENER.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
Cambridge, Mass.

SALOMON BUBER'S LATEST WORKS.²

Solomon Buber, the editor of these two works, has been for many years one of the best-known scholars in rabbinical literature. A well-to-do merchant in Lemberg, at present in his seventy-fourth year, he devotes his time to Hebrew literature, and with special predilection to Midrash. He has edited several important books of the Midrash

¹ *DIE ALTFRANZÖSISCHEN WÖRTER IM MACHSOR VITRY* nach der Ausgabe des Vereins 'Mekise Nirdamim.' Von Dr. Gustav Schlessinger. Mains: Joh. Wirth'sche Hofbuchdruckerei a.-G., 1899. 104 pp.; 8vo.

² *MIDRASCH ECHA RABBATHI*. Sammlung agadischer Auslegungen der Klagelieder. Herausgegeben nach einer Handschrift aus der Bibliothek zu Rom, cod. J. 1. 4, und einer

literature. Thirty-six years ago he published, for the first time, the *Pesiqtha*, the famous work whose existence and nature Zunz had proven from quotations, and which, when found, showed how correct his inferences had been. This time Buber presented us with the *Midrash to Lamentations*. It consists of two parts of almost equal size, the one called "*Pethiḥatha*," introduction, the other the real *Midrash*. Like all works of this literature, these two are homilies for the subject of which these books were chosen, from which scriptural lessons were selected for the services at the synagogue. Buber's editions are always testimonies of sound scholarship and of an admirably exact method. He gives, in a note, text-critical remarks based on careful weighing of the various texts, explanatory remarks, and finally very valuable parallels from rabbinical literature. It is sufficient to say that this *Midrash on Lamentations* comes up fully to the standard of Buber's older editions of the *Pesiqtha*, of the *Thaḥpuma*, and other publications by the learned editor.

Less fortunate Buber is in his views on the origin of these works. He places the *Midrash on Lamentations* in the fourth century. Zunz, and, following him, Isaac H. Weiss, in his Hebrew work on rabbinical literature, maintained that this book originated not earlier than the seventh century. To give a positive decision on these matters is absolutely impossible. Our rabbinical literature is in a hopeless condition as regards the chronology of its origin. Copyists, and even printers, have acted very freely in this respect, by arbitrary changes, interpolations, and additions from other similar works. Their interest was exclusively limited to the contents of the literature; the history of the texts and the author were of no consequence. It is certainly typical for this state of affairs that author and age of the most popular hymn of the synagogue, "*Adon Olam*," are unknown, and that of the greatest Hebrew poet of the Middle Ages, Jehuda Halevi, a great many poems are preserved, including those which he wrote in the declining years of his life, while we do not know where and when he died, although younger contemporaries speak of him after his death. This lack of interest in the external side of literature is a fact which cannot be remedied any more. But, on the other hand, it seems to have stimulated some lovers of literature to antedate these works as much as they can.

The second work is of minor interest. It is a mere compilation of rabbinical homilies selected from various sources, and arranged in the order of the psalms. The author gives his name as Makir ben Abba Mari, and the whole pedigree of his family up to seven generations. He is otherwise unknown, but the family name seems to prove that he was

Handschrift des British Museum, cod. 27089. Kritisch bearbeitet, commentiert und mit einer Einleitung versehen. Von Salomon Buber in Lemberg. Wilna: *Wittve & Gebrüder Romm*, 1899. 77 + 161 pp. fr. 2.50.

JALKUT MACHIR, Sammlung halachischer und hagadischer Stellen aus Talmud und Midraschim zu den 150 Psalmen von Machir ben Abba Mari. Zum ersten Male nach einer Handschrift herausgegeben mit Bemerkungen, genauer Indicierung der Quellenangaben, Varianten und einer Einleitung versehen. Von Salomon Buber. Berdyczew: *J. Schaffel*, 1899. Part I, 18 + 354 pp.; Part II, 294 pp. fr. 7.

a native of southern France, and lived in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. He made similar selections on Proverbs, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets, but only some are extant. A similar work was undertaken by a man called Simeon Kara, who is supposed to have lived in Frankfurt, a. M., during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It extends over the whole Bible, and is called Yalkut Simeoni, *i. e.*, the compilation of Simeon, as ours is called the compilation of Makir. While in this book the editor has less opportunity of displaying his stupendous knowledge of rabbinical literature, he is entitled to grateful acknowledgment for his accuracy in editing the text. Unfortunately, Hebrew books can nowadays hardly be printed anywhere outside of Russia, where typesetters and proofreaders can be obtained at a price low enough for the limits of the Jewish book market; consequently the paper is not what it ought to be, but the types are very clear, and the proofreading is very exact.

G. DEUTSCH.

THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE,
Cincinnati, O.

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BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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[REMARKS AND LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS, SEE P. XXXII OF JULY, 1899]

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THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

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BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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